

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NORTH CAROLINA

PART 5 OF 15

BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706

Bufile 105-165706

Section 4 continued

No. of City Block	SIGNATURE OF REGISTERED ELECTOR	ADDRESS	Date of Signing	Project
		Street and Number	1968	Number
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STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
COUNTY OF ALAMEDA, CITY OF BERKELEY

....., being first duly sworn, on his oath states:
I am, and during all the time while soliciting signatures as hereinafter set forth was, a qualified
and registered elector of the above named County and City and of the State of California; I am
the person who circulated the attached and foregoing section of the initiative petition of which said
section is a part and who solicited the signatures to the said section; I have circulated said section
in the County of Alameda, City of Berkeley, State of California; all of the signatures to the attached
section were made in my presence and upon the date shown after each signature and were solicited
by me within the above named County and City of Berkeley, State of California; and to the best of my
knowledge and belief each signature to said section is the genuine signature of the person whose
name it purports to be, and each such person to the best of my knowledge and belief is a qualified
elector of such County and City, and that all signatures to said section were secured by me.

Signed.....
Address.....
Berkeley, California
(Residential Voting Address)

Subscribed and sworn to before me this day of, 1968.

CO.....
Notary public or other officer authorized to ad-
minister oath under the laws of the State of
California

Use of County Clerk	SIGNATURE OF REGISTERED VOTER	ADDRESS Street and Number	Date of Signing 1968	Product Number
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8. Recall of Commissioners: Commissioners may be recalled by a petition bearing the signatures of 20% of the number of people voting in the precinct comprising the neighborhood to which the Commission is responsible.

9. Annexation: Whenever 30% of the adult residents of a precinct within one Department District, which is contiguous to another Department District, petition for annexation into said other Department District, an election shall be had within 30 days of certification of the requisite number of signatures by the City Clerk. Such precinct shall be annexed if the majority of the people voting in such election so indicates, unless a majority of the Councilmen of said other Department District reject such annexation within 30 days of said election. A notice of intention shall be given not more than 60 days prior to filing for certification of the petition. Where such annexation has taken place, appropriate adjustments shall be made between the affected Departments in regard to funding, whenever practicable.

10. Disposition of Current Assets: All funds, files, records, property, supplies, and other assets currently possessed by the Berkeley Police Department shall be divided among the Police Departments herein created in proportion to the population of each Police Department District; provided that police files and other records shall be distributed so that each aforesaid Department shall obtain all records pertaining to citizens living within its geographic confines, or to organizations operating therein.

11. Residence: All Police officers shall reside in the area covered by the Department they work for.

12. Ordinances: Any ordinance heretofore enacted, prior to the effective date of the within amendment, which is contradictory to any of the provisions hereof, is repealed.

13. Department Districts Defined: Three separate police departments shall be established. Each shall have exclusive jurisdiction over the following defined areas:

A. Police Department 1: Starting at the intersection of the western boundary of Berkeley and the projected center line of Gilman Street, along the projected center line of Gilman Street into Gilman Street, along Gilman Street to San Pablo Avenue, along San Pablo Avenue to University Avenue, along University Avenue to Grove Street, along Grove Street to Dwight Way, along Dwight Way to Shattuck Avenue, along Shattuck Avenue to the Oakland-Berkeley boundary, along the Oakland-Berkeley boundary west into the Berkeley-Emerlyville boundary, along the Berkeley-Emerlyville boundary to the intersection of the western Berkeley boundary and projected center line to Gilman Street.

B. Police Department 2: Starting at the intersection of Virginia Street and Grove Street, along Grove Street to Dwight Way, along Dwight Way to Shattuck Avenue, along Shattuck Avenue to the Oakland-Berkeley boundary, along the Oakland-Berkeley boundary to College Avenue, along College Avenue to Ashby Avenue, along Ashby Avenue to Piedmont Avenue, along Piedmont Avenue to the border of the University of California campus, along the border of UC campus east to the Berkeley-Oakland boundary, along the Berkeley-Oakland boundary north to the border of UC campus, along the border of UC campus west to Virginia Street, along Virginia Street to Grove Street.

C. Police Department 3: 1. Starting at the intersection of the western boundary of Berkeley and the projected center line of Gilman Street, north along the western Berkeley boundary into the Albany-Berkeley boundary, along the Albany-Berkeley boundary into the Berkeley-Kensington boundary, along the Berkeley-Kensington boundary into the eastern boundary of Berkeley, along the eastern boundary of Berkeley to the UC campus border, west along the UC campus border to Virginia Street, along Virginia Street to Grove Street, south along Grove Street to University Avenue, west along University Avenue to San Pablo Avenue, north along San Pablo Avenue to Gilman Street, west along the projected center line of Gilman Street to the western boundary of Berkeley. 2. Starting at the intersection of College Avenue and Ashby Avenue, along Ashby Avenue to Piedmont Avenue, along Piedmont Avenue to the UC campus border, along the UC campus border east to the Berkeley-Oakland boundary, along the Berkeley-Oakland boundary to College Avenue, along College Avenue to Ashby Avenue.

14. Neighborhood Divisions Defined: Police Department 1: The dividing line between Neighborhood Division A and Neighborhood Division B shall be Dwight Way and its projected center line. Neighborhood Division A shall be north of said line; Neighborhood Division B shall be south of said line. Police Department 2 shall have only one Neighborhood Division. Police Department 3: The dividing line between Neighborhood Division A and Neighborhood Division B shall be as follows: starting at the intersection of Albina Avenue and the Berkeley-Albany boundary, along Albina Avenue to Hopkins Street, along Hopkins Street to the Alameda, along the Alameda into Grove Street, along Grove Street to Rose Street, along Rose Street to Shattuck Avenue, along Shattuck Avenue to Virginia Street. Neighborhood Division A shall be the area northeast of said dividing line, including area 2 of Department 3. Neighborhood Division B is south and west of said line.

To the City Council of the City of Berkeley:

We, the undersigned, registered and qualified electors of the State of California, residents of the City of Berkeley, pursuant to Section 8 of Article XI of the Constitution of this State, present to the City Council of the City this petition and request that the following proposed amendment to the charter of the City be submitted to the registered and qualified electors of the City for their adoption or rejection at an election on a date to be determined by the City Council.

The proposed charter amendment reads as follows:

Section 1, in section 49: Repeal subsections 5 and 6 and substitute for section 5 the following language:

To organize and maintain fire departments, erect the necessary buildings and own all implements and apparatus required therefor, and to provide funds for three police departments. All control exercised by the City Council, the Mayor, and the City Manager over the composition, powers, duties, responsibilities, and functions of the Police is hereby terminated, except as may be hereinafter provided.

Section 2, in section 20: Delete "The Chief of Police" and substitute "A Police Commissioner".

Section 3, in section 30: Delete "Chief of Police" and substitute "Five Police Commissioners".

Section 4: Add a new article xvii:

1. For the purpose of providing police services to the people of the City of Berkeley, there are established three police departments, one for each of the three Districts into which the City is divided as hereinafter set forth and described.

Police Departments: Each Department of Police shall be administered by a Commission (or Commissioner) as hereinafter set forth. Each Commissioner shall be selected by a Division Council as hereinafter provided. The Commissioners shall fix the policies of the police within the Department, shall punish police officers for violations of said policies and for violation of the law, shall determine qualifications of members of the police department, and shall fix compensation of all employees of said Department. They may enter into necessary agreements with other police departments and other government agencies and generally conduct the affairs of the police department. Each Commissioner shall bring before the full Commission any matter or proposal which his Council instructs him to place before the Commission, and shall vote as his Council instructs him. The Police Commission shall hold regular public meetings at a time when the residents of the Department District are most able to attend. The Police Commissioners shall serve on a fulltime basis and shall be compensated therefor. Compensation shall be set by the respective Division Councils. The Departments may enter into agreements with each other for the operation, maintenance and staffing of certain facilities in which there is a common interest, including, but not limited to laboratories, vehicle repair and communications. The Departments may cooperate together in the requisitioning of equipment, including vehicles and weapons. Funds for the Departments shall be appropriated annually for the City of Berkeley by the City Council and shall be disbursed to each Department on the basis of the number of people residing in each Department District on the last preceding election.

2. Neighborhood Divisions: Each Police Department has a Neighborhood Division(s) described below.

3. Police Council: Each Neighborhood Division shall be divided into fifteen Police Council Precincts, by the City Clerk; the population of each such Precinct is not to exceed that of any other Precinct by more than 10% of the population of the entire District divided by fifteen. The registered voters in each Precinct shall elect a Police Councilman who will serve in that capacity for a term of two years, unless recalled. The Councilmen shall serve on a part-time basis and will be compensated for the time spent in the performance of their duties.

4. Qualifications of Councilmen: Any person who has resided in the Precinct for six months next preceding the election and is of voting age at the time of elections is qualified to serve as Councilman. There shall be no other qualifications established for the office.

5. Duties of Council: The Neighborhood Council shall, within ten days of its own election, select a Commissioner. In addition to selection of Commissioners, the Councils shall review the policies of the Police Department and will recommend changes or modifications of such policies when such policies no longer reflect the needs or will of the populace of the Neighborhood represented by the Council. The Councilmen of each Neighborhood shall have the power, exercised by a vote of the majority of that council, to remove and replace their Commissioner when he is no longer responsive to the Council. Each Council shall establish procedures necessary to hear and process complaints made against individual members of the Police Department by persons residing within the district or concerning police practices within the district, and shall have the power to discipline members of the Department for violations of law or policy occurring within that District.

6. Meetings: The Neighborhood Council will meet regularly at a time convenient to the Councilmen and at a time when interested persons may attend. Special meetings may be called when requested in writing by 20% of the Councilmen. In a Department having more than one Council, a Neighborhood Council may, by a majority vote, call a meeting of all the Councilmen of the Department, which shall meet within ten days. Such a meeting may, by majority vote of both Councils, change, institute or modify any Policy of the Department, upon which the Commissioners fail or refuse to act.

7. Recall of Councilmen: The people of a precinct may recall their Councilman by a petition bearing the signatures of residents equalling 20% of the number of people voting within the precinct in the last preceding general election. Upon certification of the requisite number of signatures an election shall be had not later than 30 days thereafter. Notice of intention to recall a Councilman must be given not more than 30 days prior to seeking certification of the requisite number of signatures by the City Clerk.

**CAUTION! DO NOT CIRCULATE THIS PETITION UNTIL YOU HAVE READ CAREFULLY
THE INSTRUCTIONS BELOW:**

1. Do not circulate this Petition UNLESS YOU ARE A REGISTERED VOTER IN THE CITY OF BERKELEY.
2. Do not allow a person unknown to you to sign until such person has first answered YES to the question: "Are you a registered voter in Berkeley?"
3. Do not permit any person to circulate this Petition for you. Each signature must be secured by the person making affidavit on the last signature page that all signatures were obtained in his or her presence. After you start to circulate this Petition no one else may take over your job.
4. Do not leave this Petition in an office, plant or home to be signed in your absence. All signatures must be made in your presence.
5. Circulators must not write anything in any column on the signature pages, except that circulator may sign his or her name once in the regular manner as a signer of the Petition.
6. When soliciting signatures have a fountain pen or indelible pencil along for convenience of signers.
7. **EACH SIGNER OF THIS PETITION MUST:**
 - (a) In the first column write his or her name EXACTLY as the signer is registered. A married woman must sign her own given name. For example: Mrs. Mary N. Smith must so sign, and not write Mrs. John J. Smith. Mr. Smith must sign John J. Smith, and not merely J. J. Smith. The Smith's unmarried daughter must sign her full given name, using her title Miss. In short, the Petition must be signed exactly as each person's name appears on the registration rolls.
 - (b) In the second column write street and number of residence. Do not permit dittos. Post Office Boxes are not allowed.
 - (c) In the third column write the day and month of signing. The date can be abbreviated. As an example, January 1 should be written like this. 1/1 or Jan. 1. Do not permit dittos.
 - (d) PUT NOTHING IN THE LAST COLUMN MARKED PRECINCT. Leave that column blank.
 - (e) Do not permit signers to use ditto ("") marks any place. Ditto ("") marks are illegal.
8. This Petition and all its Sections (any printed form identical with what you are now reading is legally termed a "Section") in its entirety of pages and all of them are to be returned to the sponsor (name and address below) so that further provisions of the law applying to Initiative Petitions may be carried out.
9. IT IS A FELONY FOR ANY PERSON TO WRITE ANY NAME IN THIS PETITION OTHER THAN HIS OR HER OWN. A husband may not sign for his wife -- nor a wife for a husband -- nor for any other member of the family -- nor for any other person.
10. When you have secured all your signatures, take this Petition to any Notary Public, or to any officer authorized to administer oaths, and execute the Circulator's Affidavit. Under Article IV, Section 1, of the California Constitution, the affidavit of any person soliciting signatures hereunder shall be verified free of charge by any officer authorized to administer oaths. A Notary Public can usually be found conveniently located in your neighborhood in most real estate or lawyers' offices, or at banks.

After the petition is notarized return at once to:

Peace and Freedom Movement
2214 Grove Street
Berkeley, California

or

Black Panther Party
4421 Grove Street
Oakland, California

BERKELEY

PETITION FOR COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

SUMMARY OF BERKELEY POLICE CONTROL AMENDMENT

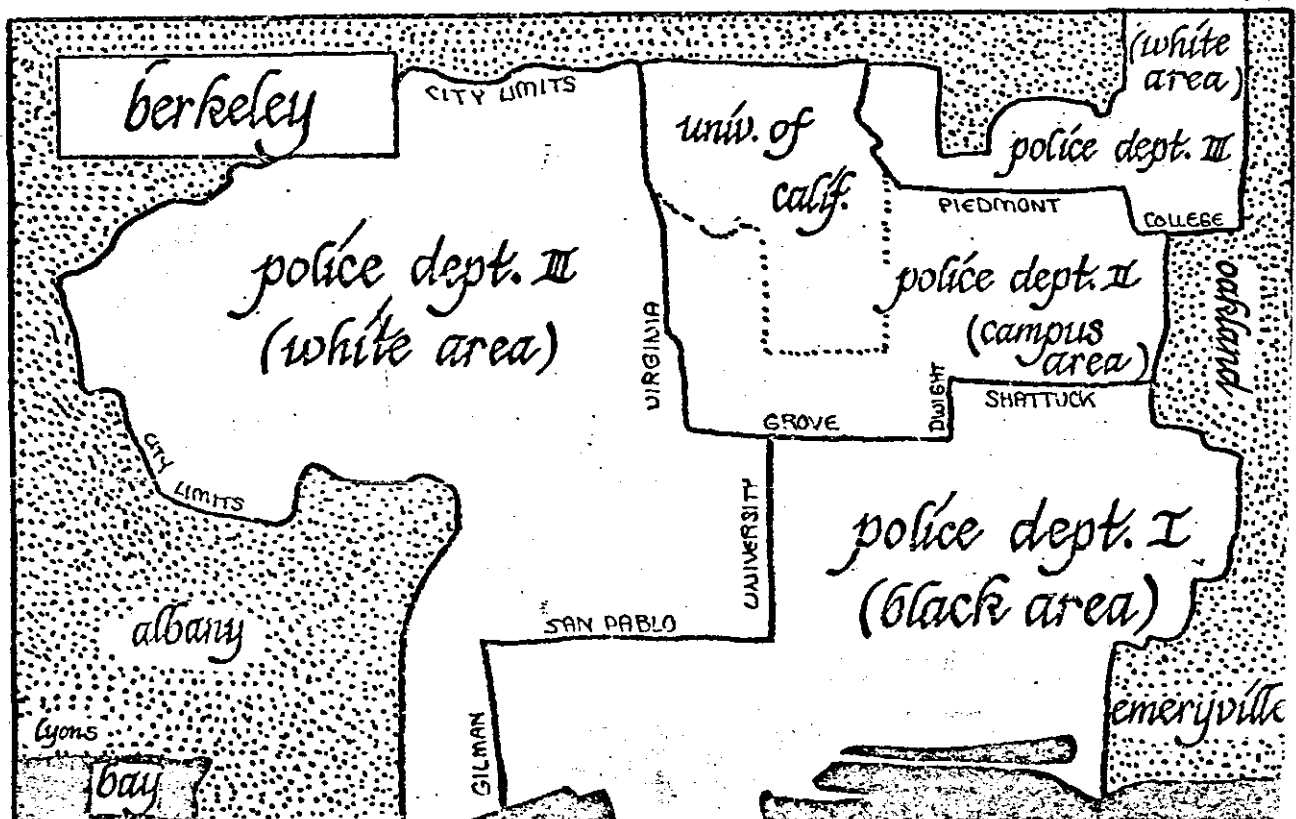
This amendment to the City Charter would give control of the police to community elected neighborhood councils so that those whom the police should serve will be able to set police policy and standards of conduct.

The amendment provides for community control of the police by establishing separate police departments for the three major communities in Berkeley: the Black community, the campus community and the predominantly white area. The departments would be separate and autonomous. They can by mutual agreement use common facilities. Each department will be administered by a full-time police commissioner(s). The commissioners are selected by a Neighborhood Police Control Council of fifteen members from that community elected by those who live there.

The Councils shall have the power to discipline officers for breaches of Department policy or violations of law. They may direct their police Commissioner to make changes in Department-wide policy. The Council can recall the Commissioner appointed by it at any time it finds that he is no longer responsive to the community. The community can recall the Council members when they are not responsive to it.

All police officers must live in the Department they work in.

MAP OF PROPOSED BERKELEY POLICE DEPARTMENTS



In the Communist Manifesto, they refer to the lumpenproletariat as "the 'dangerous class, the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society,'" and claim that although it "may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution, its conditions of life prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue." (Selected Works, I, 44). In The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850, Marx says that the lumpenproletariat "in all big towns forms a mass sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," and analyzes it as "a recruiting ground for thieves and criminals of all kinds, living on the crumbs of society, people without a definite trade, vagabonds, gens sans feu et sans aveu, varying according to the degree of civilisation of the nation to which they belong, but never renouncing their lazzaroni character." (Selected Works, I, 155) The most savage passage comes in Engels' "Prefatory Note to The Peasant War in Germany"

The lumpenproletariat, this scum of the depraved elements of all classes, which established headquarters in the big cities, is the worst of all possible allies. This rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: Mort aux voleurs! Death to thieves! and even shot some, they did it, not out of enthusiasm for property, but because they justly considered it necessary above all to keep that gang at a distance. Every leader of the workers who uses these scoundrels as guards or relies on them for support proves himself by this action alone a traitor to the movement. (Selected Works, I, 646).

Yet even this passage, taken with the contexts of the others, presents some apparent contradictions.

First of all, what do Marx and Engels see as the class background of the lumpenproletariat? This is not an idle or academic question. Class background should certainly have something to do with determining consciousness, both actual and potential. And recently it has become fashionable in some quarters to write off the street people as not even lumpenproletariat but "lumpenbourgeoisie," or fake lumpenproletariat. In the previous passage from Engels he claims that they come from "the depraved elements of all classes." But the Manifesto says that they come only from "the lowest layers of old society." And in the very passage in which Marx says that the lumpenproletariat is "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat," he also indicates that it comes directly from only one class, that same proletariat. ("And so the Paris proletariat was confronted with an army, drawn from its own midst... Yet in The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, Marx is quite explicit in stating that the lumpenproletariat comes from all classes:

Alongside decayed roués with dubious means of subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lazzaroni, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, naquereaux (pimps), brothel keepers, porters, litterati, organ-grinders, rag-pickers, knife-grinders, tinkers, beggars--in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French term la bohème; from this kindred element Bonaparte formed the core of the Society of December 10. A "benevolent society"--in so far as, like Bonaparte, all its members felt the need of benefiting themselves at the expense of the labouring nation. This Bonaparte, who constitutes himself chief of the lumpenproletariat, ... here alone discovers in mass form the interests which he personally pursues, ... recognizes in this scum, offal, refuse of all classes the only class upon which he can base himself unconditionally... (Selected Works, I, 295).

But this is all very confusing, because in the Manifesto the paragraph which immediately follows the sentence condemning the lumpenproletariat describes the pauperization of the proletariat in these terms"

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of the old society are already swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family-relation. ... Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests. (Selected Works, I, 44)

A few paragraphs later, it states that "the modern laborer ... sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of his own class"; "He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth." Well, then, if this is true, what happens to the pauperized proletariat? How do they manage to live? Why is a knife grinder or a tinker or a porter or a beggar or a discharged soldier or even a discharged jailbird a member of some other class, the lumpenproletariat, "sharply differentiated from the industrial proletariat"? It cannot be just a question of values, because to the true proletarian "law, morality, religion" are just "bourgeois prejudices." And it cannot be a question of personal relation to the means of production, because in that case any worker who becomes unemployed would automatically become a member of the lumpenproletariat and the industrial reserve army would be a lumpen army.

I would like to draw the following working conclusions: Marx and Engels, perceiving the existence of an important but ill-defined social class and angered by the treacherous role often played by that class, tended to make an ethical judgment rather than a Marxist analysis of its role in capitalist society and revolutionary struggle. This class may be defined as follows: It does not engage in productive labor, and is therefore not exploited in industry. (The bourgeoisie, however, does utilize it as police, army or agents.) Its principal means of support is the labor of the productive class, and its relationship to the proletariat is therefore inherently parasitic. Its members have come from all classes, and they have ceased to be members of those other classes because of a combination of two conditions, one objective, the other subjective--they no longer have the same relationship to the means of production and they no longer have any loyalty to their former class. From this it follows that the lumpenproletariat will contain more varied forms of consciousness than any other class in society, for the previous experience of the individuals within it will be most varied and their present precarious means of existence will throw them into many different forms of contact with all the other classes (the prostitute providing the most striking example of this). So the role of the lumpenproletariat is inherently unpredictable both strategically and at each and every moment.

If this is true, we should be keenly aware of the unreliability of the lumpenproletariat but we must reject Engels' condemnation of them as completely worthless and merely dangerous. Marx provides a key insight in a passage which foreshadows the analysis of Mao and Fanon and relates directly to the development of the Revolutionary Youth Movement. At a "youthful age," he says in The Class Struggles in France, the lumpenproletariat is "thoroughly malleable, as capable of the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices as of the basest banditry and the foulest corruption." (Selected Works, I, 155.) If so, at least the youth of the lumpenproletariat should be able to play an extremely important role in revolutionary struggle, because they are the only group to combine this potentiality for heroism with an intimate daily knowledge of how to cope with the police and to engage in underground activities as a way of life. And remember that in What Is To Be Done? Lenin makes the mastery of these skills the primary requirement of the professional revolutionary and of the revolutionary party as a whole, primary because these skills are needed to survive.

Lenin himself deals with one aspect of the lumpenproletariat quite relevant at the present moment, their tendency to engage in spontaneous and disorganized armed struggle against the state and "expropriation" of state property. Lenin violently condemns those Bolsheviks who disassociate themselves from this by "loudly and smugly declaring 'we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this.'" ("Guerilla Warfare," Collected Works, XI, 220) He attacks "the usual appraisal" which sees this struggle as merely "anarchism, Blanquism, the old terrorism, the acts of individuals isolated from the masses, which demoralise the workers, repel wide strata of the population, disorganise the movement and injure the revolution." (Works, XI, 216-17) Lenin draws the following keen lesson from the disorganized state of this struggle: it is not these "actions which disorganize the movement, but the weakness of a party which is incapable of taking such actions under its control." (p. 219) The Bolsheviks must organize these spontaneous acts and "must train and prepare their organisations to be really able to act as a belligerent side which does not miss a single opportunity of inflicting damage on the enemy's forces." (p. 223)

Mao's analysis of the lumpenproletariat and of their possible role in the revolution is very clear and simple:

Apart from all these other classes, there is the fairly large lumpen-proletariat, made up of peasants who have lost their land and handicraftsmen who cannot get work. They lead the most precarious existence of all. ... One of China's difficult problems is how to handle these people. Brave fighters but apt to be destructive, they can become a revolutionary force if given proper guidance. (Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society)

Although in American society the lumpenproletariat consists of far more diverse groups than landless peasants and unemployed handicraftsmen, Mao's final generalization would seem to be as fitting here as there. Unfortunately for us, however, Mao does not give any detailed theory on working with this particular almost entirely urban class.

Probably the most relevant, and certainly the most extensive, discussion of the lumpenproletariat by a Marxist theorist can be found in Frantz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth. Fanon, writing principally about African colonies, sees the lumpenproletariat as made up almost exclusively of landless peasants (p. 90). This is the part of his analysis least relevant to the U.S., although, of course, all of the Black and part of the white lumpenproletariat has been driven from the land into the cities. Fanon has no illusions about the dangerous unreliability of this class. But he argues that, for three reasons, the revolution cannot succeed without these people: (1) They are the most ready to fight. (2) They therefore provide the way by which the revolutionary forces of the countryside enter the city. (3) If they are not fighting on the side of the revolution, they will be fighting against it. Fanon gives many specific examples of the counter-revolutionary role sometimes played by the lumpenproletariat. In Madagascar, the colonialists assisted in "the creation of a party out of the unorganized elements of the lumpen-proletariat" and then used "its distinctly provocative actions" as "the legal excuse to maintain order." (p. 93) In Angola, Algeria, and the Congo, the colonialists were able to use elements of the lumpenproletariat as soldiers, agents, laborers, and counter-revolutionary demonstrators. Fanon concludes from this not that the lumpenproletariat should be ignored, but quite the contrary: the real danger lies in depending on its spontaneity:

Colonialism will also find in the lumpen-proletariat a considerable space for manoeuvring. For this reason any movement for freedom ought to give its fullest attention to this lumpen-proletariat. The peasant masses will always answer the call to rebellion, but if the rebellion's leaders think it will be able to develop

without taking the masses into consideration, the lumpen-proletariat will throw itself into the battle and will take part in the conflict--but this time on the side of the oppressor. And the oppressor, who never loses a chance of setting the niggers against each other, will be extremely skilful in using that ignorance and incomprehension which are the weaknesses of the lumpen-proletariat. If this available reserve of human effort is not immediately organized by the forces of rebellion, it will find itself fighting as hired soldiers side by side with the colonial troops. (p. 109)

What makes all this particularly dangerous is that it may occur after the lumpen-proletariat has fought on the side of the revolution, and may therefore take the revolutionary forces completely by surprise. Fanon points out that the enemy relies on a careful analysis to take advantage of any such opportunity:

The enemy is aware of ideological weaknesses, for he analyses the forces of rebellion and studies more and more carefully the aggregate enemy which makes up a colonial people; he is also aware of the spiritual instability of certain layers of the population. The enemy discovers the existence, side by side with the disciplined and well-organized advance guard of rebellion, a mass of men whose participation is constantly at the mercy of their being for too long accustomed to physiological wretchedness, humiliation and irresponsibility. (pp. 109-110)

Surely it is not difficult to imagine a similar situation here, and we should be warned of the necessity of raising the consciousness of all those who join the struggle. The Black Panthers' political education courses, based on intensive study of Mao and stressing an application to people's immediate experience, here serves as a model. Many of their early recruits, although unaccustomed to reading and used to an irresponsible, criminal life, learned how to serve the people with complete dedication.)

No other parts of Fanon's analysis are of even more immediate and strategic importance. The first is the theory of the lumpenproletariat as the way the countryside enters the city. "The rebellion, which began in the country districts, will filter into the towns through that fraction of the peasant population ... which has not yet succeeded in finding bone to gnaw in the colonial system." "It is within this mass of humanity, this people of the shanty towns, at the core of the lumpen-proletariat that the rebellion will find its urban spearhead." (p. 103) How does this apply to the U.S.? It is easy enough to see the unemployed people of the Black ghettos as part of this mass of humanity. But where is the rebellion that began in the country districts? The answer, of course, is in the world revolution as described by Lin Biao in Long Live the Victory of People's War. The country districts of the world are Asia, Africa, and Latin America, the wastelands of the wretched of the earth. There are various groups of people in the United States who share the physical misery of these rural masses--American Indians, Mexican farm laborers, Black tenant farmers in the South, the dispossessed whites of Appalachia. But most of these groups are scattered and weak, living on the fringes of capitalist society, away from its vital centres. There is only one group that not only shares the degradation of the world's revolutionary masses but is sufficiently concentrated to be powerful--the urban lumpenproletariat. This class in American society is largely made up of Third World people, but also includes whites dispossessed from the land or dropped out of their class. This last is no inconsiderable group, and it is taken over areas of several important cities, from the Haight-Ashbury and Telegraph Avenue through Madison to the Lower East Side, Cambridge, and Georgetown. Wherever the lumpenproletariat lives in America, "law and order" are rapidly disintegrating. Imperialism, caught in its own contradictions, finds it increasingly difficult to develop effective weapons to use within its own diseased vital organs, its cities. Here stirs the lumpenproletariat, the one class whose physical existence approximates that of the forces of the world revolution.

lanon points to the symptoms of breakdown in the colonized country, and we see the same symptoms, perhaps more pronounced, in the coloniser; to "juvenile delinquency," "stealing, debauchery and alcoholism," we can add the effects of methedrine and heroin.

The constitution of a lumpen-proletariat is a phenomenon which obeys its own logic, and neither the braining activity of the missionaries nor the decrees of the central government can check its growth. This lumpen-proletariat is like a horde of rats; you may kick them and throw stones at them, but despite your efforts they'll go on gnawing at the roots of the tree.

... The lumpen-proletariat, once it is constituted, brings all its forces to endanger the "security" of the town, and is the sign of the irrevocable decay, the gangrene ever present at the heart of colonial domination. (p. 104)

The other extremely important part of lanon's analysis has to do with the changing values and life style of the lumpenproletariat in revolutionary struggle. The conditions of life have shaped them to fight, but the fighting itself is a new condition which transforms them into a new kind of people:

So the pimps, the hooligans, the unemployed and the petty criminals, urged on from behind, throw themselves into the struggle for liberation like stout working men. These classless idlers will be militant and decisive action discover the path that leads to nationhood. They won't become reformed characters to please colonial society; fitting in with the morality of its rulers; quite the contrary, they take for granted the impossibility of entering the city save by hand-grenades and revolvers. These workless less-than-men are rehabilitated in their own eyes and in the eyes of history. The prostitutes too, and the maids ..., all the hopeless dregs of humanity, all who turn in circles between suicide and madness, will recover their balance, once more go forward, and march proudly in the great procession of the awakened nation. (104)

There are two extremely important points to bear in mind here, if we are to relate correctly to the lumpenproletariat. The first is that we must not tail after their existing values and life styles, but must lead them to an assertion of their own liberation through revolutionary struggle. The second is that they must be led by conscious revolutionaries with a sense of the historical condition of these people and an awareness of their weaknesses and instability. It would be a mistake, probably a fatal mistake, to think that the only people qualified to lead them are individuals distinguished by being similarly unpredictable and lacking in ideological consciousness.

Students and Street People

Students now constitute a significant portion of the entire population. The number of college students alone now approximately equals the country's total armed forces plus its three largest unions (Teamsters, UAW, and United Steelworkers), and the number in high school is far larger. From the students has come the bulk of both the most militant and most radical political forces and street people, two overlapping groups. Clearly, the radicalization and lumpenproletarianizing of students are not coincidences.

All students, particularly those living away from home, are partially and temporarily detached, existing in a limbo between their wealthy or working-class past and whatever futures or jobs they are being channeled into. Although physically and psychologically capable of productive labor and childbearing, indeed more energetic and sexually motivated than most "adults," though often among the most intellectually alert and best informed people, they are branded by all classes as immature parasites. They are generally not permitted either to sell their labor or to own property. Although they may work quite hard in school, they do not produce anything, and are therefore not workers. No matter

how socially useful their knowledge and skills may later prove to be, they are still "dependents," a pleasant word for parasites.

Rather than earn a living, students chisel or hustle for one. Even the son of a member of the ruling class knows that he has gotten his sports car by finagling it out of his old man, not through productive labor (like his father's workers) or legalized, respectable plunder (like his father); he relates to his father like a call girl or swindler. Students are denied even bourgeois democratic rights. As neither workers nor owners, living under coercive rules without even the illusion of having chosen the authority over them, students share some of the experience of the more clearly classless elements of society, the true lumpenproletariat. This experience has at least some effect on their consciousness. They know what it is to be considered a parasite and to live like one. Their class loyalties weaken. The sanctity of both work and private property is questioned. Of course they are still largely products of their natal class. But because their class position is now ambiguous, many of them slip out of the class roles for which they supposedly were being trained, and some find it quite easy to become outright class traitors. Some sons and daughters of workers compete for managerial careers, and a few even become lower level bosses over their parents. Some sons and daughters of the wealthiest capitalists become conscious revolutionaries, seeking to overthrow their parents' rule, and a few even succeed in merging with the workers. But the most striking phenomenon is that of the drop-out, who slides directly from an existence with some superficial resemblances to the lumpenproletariat into becoming a bona fide member of that class. And during the present period, the beginning of the final collapse of imperialism, that is becoming a mass phenomenon.

The alienated street people, predominately ex-students whose neighborhood usually adjoins a Black or Brown ghetto, form an ambiguous connection to the dispossessed lumpenproletariat and lower strata of the proletariat. The potential exists for two kinds of conflict, and both have already taken place: in one, whites and Third World people fight against each other; in the other, both fight together against the police. This represents in dramatically clear form the classical ambiguity of and within the lumpenproletariat.

The Lumpenproletariat and the Working Class

Although the lumpenproletariat must play a role in revolutionary struggle, as a class it is incapable of being the main force. Its capacity for fighting and destruction may be great, but of all classes within society it is the least capable of seizing and maintaining state power.

One error currently being made within the movement is empiricism, which bases its analysis only on what has already taken place here and now. In any pre-revolutionary or early revolutionary condition, the least stable elements within society are those to go into motion first. This almost always includes students and elements of the lumpenproletariat. Empiricism mistakes this first force for the leading force or vanguard, and concludes that the revolution will be made by precisely those elements in fact least able to carry it through to completion.

In developed capitalist society, there is of course only one class other than the bourgeoisie capable of holding state power; that class is the working class. Anyone who questions this is not a revolutionary, for revolution at this point in history means the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. (One can, however, be a fighting anti-imperialist, totally committed to the destruction of the bourgeois state, without being a revolutionary. But whether the means of destruction are fire or plague,

anarchism ultimately means attacking the working class as well as the state.) But in this obvious historical fact lies the danger of dogmatism, which ignores living reality for historical certainty. The dogmatists, best characterized by the Progressive Labor Party and other varieties of Trotskyites, see the struggles of any group other than the proletariat as inconsequential if not downright counterrevolutionary. PL carries this so far that they assert that students and street people are not part of the people at all. Because they assume that "when Mao or Lenin talked of the people they were referring [only] to workers and peasants," they arrive at the preposterous conclusion that "the fight for People's Park was a reactionary struggle." (The Battle of Berkeley, PL pamphlet pp. 7-9) Unlike PL, Marxists-Leninists understand that theory must be based on objective reality. They conclude, therefore, that the key revolutionary task at the present moment is spreading the intensely political struggle of the alienated and the dispossessed to the working class as a whole, which, mired in economism, can win its own battle only in revolution.

There is nothing automatic or certain about the relation between the present insurgence and the working class. On the contrary, there is an extreme danger that the contradiction between the lumpenproletariat and the working class may become antagonistic (particularly if the workers were to listen to PL). Workers may perceive anarchic rebellion as a threat to the marginal security they have been able to win from the ruling class. Students and street people occupy a housing development from which working-class people have been evicted, and then demand that this be a free People's Park, while workers in the surrounding neighborhood cannot afford the rent they are being forced to pay. That part of the lumpenproletariat that consists of students who have dropped out of petit bourgeois, professional, and bourgeois families has been filled with the most virulent anti-working class ideas. And the lumpenproletariat is, after all, a parasitic class that lives off the labor of the working class. This all means that the task of first linking and then uniting the struggles of the lumpenproletariat and the working class is not only essential but extremely difficult.

Among Third World people, there is a less clear demarcation between lumpenproletariat and working class than there is between street people and the white working class. Black and Brown workers are the last hired and the first fired, so that a large percentage knows what it is to be among the unemployed. Many Black and Brown women are on welfare or employed in part-time "domestic" (i.e. servile) positions. The Black Panther Party has shown the way to unite lumpenproletariat with working class--by constantly developing practical programs to Serve the People in areas where the oppression of the lumpenproletariat is an extreme form of the oppression suffered by Black working people. Beginning with a base almost entirely within the lumpenproletariat and committed to defending the people against police brutality, the Panthers now have wide support among Black workers, and thanks to the Breakfast for Children program, throughout the Black community. What has been central to this success has been the Panthers' refusal to take the opportunistic course of organizing around lumpenproletariat demands per se, but rather organizing through the lumpenproletariat as the most victimized members of the Black people and therefore as ones capable of raising demands for the people as a whole. Although now and again contradictions have intensified between lumpenproletariat and working class within the Third World communities, it now seems certain that revolutionary leadership, national oppression, and the intensifying crisis of imperialism will combine to forge revolutionary unity.

In the mother country, the problems are far more difficult. Certainly the lesson of the Panthers, Serve the People, is just as crucial here, to say the least. The principal organizing concept here must be the Revolutionary Youth Movement, which is made necessary and possible by cross-class youth culture, the draft and imperialist war, high unemployment among youth, and the pigs.

Within the Revolutionary Youth Movement, the bulk of the work within the next year or two will continue to be building the movement on the campuses and on the streets and linking the two together. But the key job for revolutionaries will be to spread that movement to young white working people.

Here one vital area of work must be draft resistance and resistance within the army, because here the movement among alienated white youth connects directly to the needs of young workers. Another priority is the work among street gangs, who are themselves basically lumpenproletariat although their class backgrounds vary, and motorcycle clubs who are mostly made up of young workers whose life style and off-work associations relate closely to the lumpenproletariat. A third area of crucial importance is the high schools, where the channeling system has not as yet totally forced class separation and where oppression cuts sharply across class lines.

RESOLUTION

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AFRO-ASIAN YOUTH MOVEMENT (ANTI-IMPERIALIST) IN QUEBEC FOR PRESENTATION TO "THE NATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY CONFERENCE FOR A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM" CALLED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The Afro-Asian Youth Movement (Anti-Imperialist)* is composed of progressive Africans, Asians and their supporters resident in Quebec. We resolutely support and do propaganda for:

1. The just national liberation struggles of our heroic people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.
2. The National Liberation Struggle of the Palestinian people led by PLO, Popular Democratic Front for Liberation of Palestine, and the Palestine Liberation Front.
3. The National Liberation Struggle of the people of Quebec.

In these tasks we focus on the common enemy of the toiling masses of the world: U.S. imperialism. Since the Afro-Americans are in the forefront of the developing militant struggle against Imperialism, in the U.S.A., we fraternally welcome the attempt of this conference to unite the people against our common enemy.

The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America and other countries have been the constant target for the plunder, subjugation and exploitation at the hands of the colonial and neo-colonial powers. Reactionary violence is used to extinguish any flame of revolt against foreign robbers and their supporters. With the gun in one hand and the bible in the other, the colonial powers have inflicted untold suffering on our people.

In the last decade the Asian, African, Latin American and the Afro-American people have scored great advances in the militant struggle. One of the reasons for the mighty blows against U.S. imperialism is the revolutionary internationalism, spreading amongst the oppressed peoples of the world. The revolution cannot succeed until the people realize that their fight is a part of the historical and global struggle against imperialist and racist oppression.

- In Vietnam the heroic people's resolute determination in waging people's war has shown the way to defeat the most technologically advanced country in the world.
- In Palestine, the Zionist aggressors with the help of the imperialist powers have driven the Palestinians out of their homeland and have further expanded their aggression to other Arab countries and have occupied their territories. The

* For further information write to:

"The Afro-Asian", P.O. Box 1361, Station B,
Montreal 110, Quebec.

people of Palestine are resisting the aggression and waging a people's struggle to defeat the Zionist aggressors.

- In Quebec, U.S. imperialism faces the just wrath of the exploited people of Quebec. The Quebec people and Quebec as a nation are under the domination of the Anglo-Canadian colonialists led by the traitor Trudeau. The Quebecois suffers under discrimination and repression in the interests of U.S. imperialism. The sectors of the population most affected are workers, small cultivators, and C.N.E.P. (Pre-Univ. schools) students. The same Canadian bourgeoisie headed by Trudeau exploits the Canadian working class, national minorities and others in the interest of U.S. imperialism. The Quebecois are waging a militant struggle for national liberation.

As the revolutionary struggles of the peoples intensify, the ruling class desperately attempts to launch counter-revolutionary actions against the movement of the toiling masses. The spectre of peoples liberation drives the counter-revolutionary forces to employ fascist methods of exercising state power. It is precisely in this context that the Black Panther Party, in the fore-front of the Afro-American struggle and in the process of adopting a revolutionary working class ideology and program faces the fascist tactics of oppression and repression. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to have a scientific analysis of the nature and development of fascism and to develop the strategy and tactics to defeat imperialism and incipient fascism.

NATURE OF FASCISM

Historically, fascism is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialist elements of finance-capital.*

Specifically,

"The accession to power of fascism is not an ordinary succession of one bourgeois government by another, but a substitution of one state form of class domination of the bourgeoisie - bourgeois democracy - open terrorist dictatorship."

"The accession to power of fascism must not be conceived of in so simplified and smooth a form, as though some committee or other of finance-capital decided on a certain date to set up a fascist dictatorship. In reality, fascism usually comes to power in course of mutual, and at times severe, struggle against the old bourgeois parties, or a definite section of these parties, in the course of a struggle even within the fascist camp itself - a struggle which at times leads to armed clashes.... All this, however, does not make less important the fact that, before the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, bourgeois governments usually pass through a number of preliminary stages and adopt a number of reactionary measures which directly facilitate the accession to power of fascism. Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at

* All quotations are from "United Front" by George Dimitroff

the preparatory stages is not in opposition to the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary facilitates that victory."

An important task in an incipient fascist state, the present condition in the U.S.A., demands militant propagation of the working class ideology in order to combat the attempts by the state to attract various strata of the population including the working class and the petty bourgeoisie.

"What is the source of the influence of fascism over the masses? Fascism is able to attract the masses because it demagogically appeals to their most urgent needs and demands. Fascism, not only inflames prejudices that are deeply ingrained in the masses, but also plays on the better sentiments of the masses, on their sense of justice, and sometimes even on their revolutionary traditions. Why do (did) the German fascists, those lackeys of the big bourgeoisie and mortal enemies of socialism, represent themselves to the masses as 'Socialists', and depict their accession to power as a 'revolution'? Because they try (tried) to exploit the faith in revolution and urge toward socialism that lives in the hearts of the masses of working people in Germany."

Therefore, in contemporary U.S.A., it is necessary to wage an ideological struggle against defeatist theories of social democracy, liberalism and new-left opportunism, all of which fundamentally serve the interests of the ruling class and its drive towards full-fledged fascism.

Fascism openly uses the reactionary biological theories of the instinctual basis for human behaviour and social relationship which directly leads to the practice of racism against national minority groups. Mass terror, pogroms, lynchings and mass extermination become the principal methods of exercising state power. In short therefore:

"Fascism is the most ferocious attack by capital on the mass of the working people; Fascism is the unbridled chauvinism and annexationist war; Fascism is rabid reaction and counter-revolution; Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and working people!"

The present development in the nature of the state in contemporary U.S.A. and Quebec, cannot be characterized as a fascist state, despite the fact that the state increasingly utilizes fascist tactics in its efforts to quell the rising tide of people's wrath. These tactics are normal and necessary for the functioning of the bourgeois state.

The principal reasons which clearly show why the U.S.A. and Quebec are not fascist states, are:

- (i) State power continues to be exercised through regular constitutional methods.
- (ii) Not only does the entire ruling class (as opposed to the most reactionary segments) exercise state power, but at present shares this power with the petty bourgeoisie.

(iii) Though the power of the South Western monopoly capitalists accompanied by their military allies has been rising since the second World War yet in the exercise of state power the interests and ideology of the Eastern and Central monopoly capitalists remain dominant. In this sense the most reactionary and chauvinist -sections of the ruling class do not exercise complete control over the state machinery, which is necessary condition for the existence of a fascist state.

(iv) While fascist organizations and fascist tactics have existed in the past and have increased in the last decade, yet the principal method of a fascist state, such as mass terror and mass extermination, are not used in contemporary U.S., .. and Quebec.

The foregoing analysis clearly necessitates that the immediate task is of forging unity among the working class against the rising tide of fascism to develop the basis of the United Front and subsequently a popular front which would effectively defend the interest of the people and thoroughly defeat fascism.

The following four factors are the fundamental conditions for the development of the United Front:

First and foremost on the militant activity of the working class itself, ... By establishing its fighting unity, the proletariat would paralyze the influence of fascism over... the petty bourgeoisie of the towns, (cities), the youth and the intelligentsia, and would be able to neutralize one section of them and win over another section...

Second, it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the working people against fascism.

Third, it depends on a correct policy of the working class toward (the rural population), and the petty bourgeois masses of the towns. These masses must be taken as they are, and not as we should like to have them. It is only in the process of the struggle that they will overcome their doubts and waverings, it is only by political help of the proletariat, that they will be able to rise to a higher level of revolutionary consciousness and activity.

Fourth, it depends on the vigilance and timely action of the revolutionary proletariat. The latter must not allow fascism to take it unawares, it must not surrender the initiative to fascism, but must inflict decisive blows on it before it can gather its forces, it must not allow fascism to consolidate its position, it must repel fascism wherever and whenever it rears its head, it must not allow fascism to gain new positions.

... But even this is not all. The proletariat of the imperialist countries has possible allies not only in the toilers of its own countries but also in the oppressed nations of the colonies and semi-colonies. Inasmuch as the proletariat is split both nationally and internationally, inasmuch as one of its parts supports the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie, in particular its system of oppression in the

colonies and semi-colonies, a barrier is put between the working class and the oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, and the world anti-imperialist front is weakened. Every step on the road to unity of action in the direction of supporting the struggle for the liberation of the colonial peoples by the proletariat of the imperialist countries means transforming the colonies and the semi-colonies into one of the most important reserves of the world proletariat..."

Our analysis leads us to the conclusion that the call given by this conference to build unity amongst the people against fascism incorrectly identifies the existing state in the U.S.A. with full-fledged fascism. Furthermore, the particular call for unity misleads the struggle against fascism by confusing the strategy and tactics of building a united front with that of a popular front. However, if this conference succeeds in fulfilling the immediate task of forging a United Front of the working class through unity in action, it will ensure the systematic and consistent development of unity among the people to thoroughly defeat fascism and imperialism in the U.S.A.

1. LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE'S OF ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA!
2. LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF PALESTINE !
3. LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE OF QUEBEC !
4. LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE AND THE HEROIC BLACK PANTHER PARTY !
5. SMASH U.S. IMPERIALISM AND FASCISM !
6. VICTORY TO THE TOILING MASSES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA !

WHAT IS FASCISM?

Fascism is the systematic use of force and violence by the most powerful section of the ruling capitalist class to eliminate opposition to its rule, to rob or destroy the property of other sections of the capitalist class and the middle class, and to kill-off, in the name of "efficiency" and "order," all others who are not either profit-producing workers, child- and soldier-producing females, conquest-producing members of the armed forces, or dictatorship-producing members of the capitalists' political and police forces.

Fascism is the kind of government capitalism, in its old age, must have to suppress the people, whose interests capitalism increasingly and unavoidably violates.

Fascism is not an aberration or a temporary political condition of capitalism, to be corrected by the "restoration of democracy" within capitalism. It is a basic political condition. The basic trend toward fascism has not been reversed since Mussolini marched on Rome. Only the forms of this trend have varied. Rule by police and private armies has been supplemented by military mobilization, conquest and occupation, or by military coups and dictatorships. World War II did not decrease or defeat fascism; it decided which national capitalist classes should have what positions within international, imperialist fascism. * (see page 5)

THE ONLY DEFECT OF FASCISM IS REVOLUTION

Only the extension of the socialist revolution (communist revolution or proletarian revolution) into Eastern Europe and its spread in China and into Korea during World War II were defeats of imperialist fascism. Only the further extension of the socialist revolution in Vietnam, Africa and Cuba since World War II have been decisive defeats of imperialist fascism.

The resistance of the peoples of imperialist nations to fascist policies at the practical level -- wages, living and working standards, service in imperialist armed forces, etc. -- has been an important factor in preventing or lessening imperialist fascist victories over the socialist revolution. This resistance commonly has rationalized itself politically as a defense of "democratic rights" at home and the right of self-determination of other nations abroad. Thus the victories of the socialist revolution have been inseparable from the self-defense by the peoples of their interests under capitalism where this defense has stopped short of revolution, -- where it has remained within the limits of capitalist economic and governmental law. While the "democratic resistance" of peoples has helped the socialist revolution elsewhere, the failure to go beyond the limits of this resistance, the failure to join and spread the revolution, has allowed capitalism to survive, to reach its present stage of power and danger to humanity. The "defense of democracy" AS AN OVERRIDING POLITICAL GOAL has in fact been an essential part of the preservation, extension and intensification of imperialist fascism. This is true particularly in the U. S. and its empire.

To defeat and destroy fascism the people must end their submission to capitalist government law and must meet, defeat and destroy the mobilization of the fascist forces as these enter the political field where "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". These forces to be defeated and destroyed include spies, agents provocateurs, goons, assassins, vigilantes, fascist paramilitary forces, fascist political police, and armed forces of whatever kind acting under fascist authority against the people.

"DEMOCRACY" AND FASCISM

Defense of the peoples' interests by defense of "democratic rights" under capitalism is necessary but it is far from sufficient to defeat or to destroy fascism. If "defense of democracy" is made an excuse to oppose the equally necessary prepar-

oration for socialist revolution, for the final defeat and elimination of imperialist fascism, then the defense of "democratic rights" becomes an objective ally of fascism and an objective enemy of "democratic rights".

"Democracy" under capitalism is the voluntary submission of the people, particularly of the working class, to the social order, to the economic law, to the governmental law and political rule of the capitalist class through its agents "elected by the people." The final expression of this voluntary submission may take the form of continued submission and of continued reliance on the "democratic process" (government elections, etc.) while the capitalist class mobilizes the naked dictatorship of club, gun, gas, torture and death camps. The outcome of such a final expression of "democracy" is clear. History is littered with the corpses of "democracies" which have been relied upon as defenders of the people, their places taken by juntas, presidents, premiers of non-existent parliaments, and the stench of fascism in power.

THE PEOPLE AND FASCISM

Fascism can exist and can threaten to be installed officially in power in the U.S. today because most people in the U.S. who oppose fascism in principle do not agree that it is necessary for the people to end their submission to capitalist government law ("the laws of the land made by our democratic representatives"). They do not see that this very government law is used to rationalize and to protect the mobilization of fascism and to attack with force and violence the more effective opponents of imperialist fascism.

NEVERTHELESS IT IS ONLY THE MASSES OF THE PEOPLE WHO CAN EXIST AND DESTROY FASCISM. It is the central aim of the United Front Against Fascism to organize the people on the basis of PEOPLES' POWER AGAINST FASCISM and PEOPLES' WAR AGAINST FASCISM.

THE PEOPLE AND THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The basic problem of organizing a United Front Against Fascism is how to bring the people, beginning now, into EFFECTIVE opposition to fascism.

The principles and structure of the united front must encourage ALL people who are now or who later become opposed to fascism to join together for the purpose of meeting, defeating and destroying imperialist fascism.

THE POLITICAL PRINCIPLE OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

Each separate organization or person opposed to fascism -- union, political party, student association, etc., or members of same -- will also be opposed to or in favor of other aspects of contemporary or future society. THOSE OTHER POS AND CONS MUST NOT PREVENT AN ANTI-FASCIST ORGANIZATION OR PERSON FROM JOINING WITH ALL OTHERS WHO ARE OPPOSED TO FASCISM IN A UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM.

This means that no anti-fascist organization or person may be barred from the united front because of any other beliefs or activities.

This also means that no anti-fascist organization or person may be criticized, or any demand made on it or him or her, within the united front, to curtail or abandon any belief, principle, program, campaign, activity or other organization outside of the united front.

Anti-fascism must be the one-and-only political basis of affiliation with the United Front Against Fascism.

- If any other political condition of affiliation "X" is adopted by the United Front Against Fascism, then the UFAT will become the "United (Except for those who disagree with "X") Front Against Fascism." If electoralism is made a condition, the non-electoralists will not be included. If anti-electoralism is made a condition, the electoralists will not be included -- etc.

ANY ATTEMPT TO PUT THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM INTO ANY SPECIAL "HAG"
WILL, REGARDLESS OF WHAT, HAVE THE OBJECTIVE EFFECT OF WEAKENING THE UNITED FRONT
AND STRENGTHENING FASCISM.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLE OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The necessary co-ordination of the united front can be achieved best by the principle of voluntary solidarity which will grow out of facing a common enemy.

Arbitrary discipline can only fail to co-ordinate the people in their anti-fascist struggle, as will any bureaucratic structure attempting to impose such arbitrary discipline.

There must be no attempt to subordinate the local to the regional or the regional to the national organization of the united front.

Voluntary co-ordination based on maximum spreading of information about fascism and about the United Front Against Fascism will be the soundest principle of organization for anti-fascist solidarity of the people.

An organization affiliated with the united front whose particular methods of opposing fascism require highly disciplined co-ordination will not be prevented from applying its methods or enforcing its discipline among its members as such. But it will be out of order for it to attempt to impose its particular method on the United Front Against Fascism either by proposing it for endorsement as the pre-eminent method of fighting fascism or by attempting to pack meetings or to capture positions of influence in the structure of the united front for the purpose of such imposition.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The organizational structure best suited for the political principle of the United Front Against Fascism, best suited for actual political combat against fascism, and which will best ensure the defeat and destruction of imperialist fascism, is

- 1) direct affiliation of local anti-fascist organizations and persons to the united front at local levels;
- 2) direct affiliation of regional anti-fascist organizations, and local united front organizations, to the united front at regional levels;
- 3) direct affiliation of national anti-fascist organizations, and regional united front organizations, to the united front at the national level;
- 4) international affiliation of the united front may be established according to conditions in each country.

THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The above outlined and proposed organizational principle and structure of the United Front Against Fascism will minimize the damage which will be done by the inevitable attempts of particular affiliated organizations to limit anti-fascism to their own concepts and practices.

It should again be emphasized that nothing in the United Front Against Fascism may be allowed which will prevent activities of affiliated organizations from being carried on as desired by those organizations. Thus the merit of any organization will be judged by the people, not by the United Front Against Fascism, and the organization will be free to function and to grow or decline accordingly. The United Front Against Fascism will not interfere with the process of natural selection in the political and other fields.

As shown by bitter pages of history, there will be a tendency, and a faction representing this tendency, supported by organizations and persons affiliated with the united front, TO ABANDON ACTIVITIES AND TO DISSOLVE ORGANIZATIONS IN THE NAME OF STRENGTHENING THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM. The right of any organization or person to do this, on its or his or her own initiative, is undeniable. But the

political and organizational principles and structure of the United Front Against Fascism must not be a pressure or inducement to the peoples' movements by abandoning activities or dissolving organizations. The above outlined and proposed principles and structure, requiring only anti-fascism as the political principle, voluntary solidarity based on information spread widely among the people as the organizational principle, and a functional affiliation of anti-fascist organizations and persons to the united front as the structural principle, leave each affiliate free to make its or his or her own priorities of activities and organizations.

The proposed principles and structure of the united front will make it difficult for any narrow interest to take over the united front for partisan purposes such as electoralism, anti-electoralism, etc., or for the purpose of causing the abandoning of necessary activities by affiliates or disbanding of affiliates.

PROPOSED ARTICLES FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM.

The Anti-Imperialist Coalition proposes that in order to achieve the above in the formal sense the following Articles be included in the Constitution to be adopted by the United Front Against Fascism:

Article I. The political purpose of the United Front Against Fascism is to meet, defeat and destroy imperialist fascism in the United States and its empire.

Article II. The sole political requirement for affiliation of an organization or person with the United Front Against Fascism shall be actual opposition to fascism. For this purpose "fascism" shall be defined to be THE SYSTEMATIC USE OF FORCE AND VIOLENCE BY A GOVERNMENT CONTROLLED IN FACT BY THE WEALTHY CLASS TO ELIMINATE OPPOSITION TO THE RULE OF THIS CLASS. The UFAF shall decide who is in fact anti-fascist.

Article III. Within the meetings and publications of the United Front Against Fascism no affiliate or its representative shall by discussion, motion or proposal criticize any other affiliated organization or person on any basis other than possible violation of the constitution or by-laws of the United Front Against Fascism by the criticized affiliate.

Article IV. At all levels of structure the organizational principle of the United Front Against Fascism shall be voluntary solidarity of the people and their organizations against fascism, achieved by the widest possible spreading of information about fascism, the peoples' struggle against fascism, and the United Front Against Fascism as part of that struggle.

Article V. Local anti-fascist organizations and persons shall affiliate with the local United Front Against Fascism. Regional organizations, and each local United Front Against Fascism, shall affiliate with a regional United Front Against Fascism. National organizations, and each regional United Front Against Fascism, shall affiliate with the national United Front Against Fascism. International affiliation of the national United Front Against Fascism may be established according to conditions in each country. * anti-fascist

Article VI. Voting by and representation of affiliated organizations and persons shall be decided by adoption of by-laws by each regional and local United Front Against Fascism. National by-laws, adopted by national conferences or conventions, shall decide voting and representation in the national United Front Against Fascism.

Article VII. Executive functions shall be carried out by temporary and standing committees elected out of the body of each United Front Against Fascism at local, regional and national levels.

PROGRAM, CAMPAIGN, AND PROJECTS OF THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

The controversial nature of any proposal must not be a basis for denying the right of proposal and debate of the controversial matter. The proposal and debate itself must guide the decisions of the United Front in its adoption of program, campaign or project. After controversial proposal and debate, which will show where the movement stands, adoption of program, campaign or project by the United Front Against Fascism at any level must not be done if it will cause a serious split in the United Front.

For example, the United Front must not endorse any candidate for election or appointment to government office. However, all affiliates or potential affiliates must be free, so far as the United Front is concerned, to endorse or support whatever candidates each may choose.

Points of the structure, program, campaigns, and projects of the United Front will channelize the particular ways the United Front itself will fight against fascism. These ways will be distinct from those used by its affiliates as independent persons or organizations. The affiliates may not wish to endorse or support a particular concept or tactic of the United Front, but may tolerate it because of the intent of its supporters. But no affiliate can be expected to become or remain identified, among its present or potential constituency, with a concept or tactic which is completely contrary to its own basic principles.

In brief, the program points, the campaigns and the projects of the United Front Against Fascism, at the local, regional and national levels, each must in fact be no more and no less than anti-fascist. Otherwise the political requirement for affiliation, the organizational principle and the political principle of the United Front will in fact each be violated and the United Front will remain or will become a united front in name only.

Fraternally submitted by:

ANTI-IMPERIALIST COALITION

Mail address: P.O. Box 637

Oakland, Ca. 94604

(continuation of WHAT IS FASCISM?, page 1)

Like any basic condition, fascism grows out of the preceding basic condition: "democracy" (democratic forms of rule for capitalists). Fascism's stages of growth and its degree of adoption by the ruling capitalist class for the wielding of their state power give fascism different appearances, particularly in the period when the capitalists still use the "democratic" method of rule side by side with the growing fascist method. To say that "Fascism is here and must be fought" is not to say that it is in full and official power as a method or rule, or that the concentration camps are full, or that all progressives are either eliminated, underground or in exile; it is only to say that fascism, the fascist method of governing by the same ruling class also using the "democratic" method, has grown enough to make it a political force to contend with.

labor donated by union members

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - DOCUMENT
"REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION"
BY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

During the afternoon of July 22, 1969, the workshop was addressed by DON COX of the Black Panther Party, who read the article from the June 28, 1969 issue of the Black Panther newspaper which quotes the pamphlet, "Revolution and Education" by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER verbatim. BOBBY SEALE and COX instructed the 150 individuals in attendance from this publication. After COX read the article he explained that the "pigs" have no respect for the administration of the colleges or the students, that the students were paying these universities for an education and had the right to be respected. He stated it is our (the Black Panther Party) job to see that this type of action by the "pigs" must stop by any means necessary. COX went on to state that the power structure controls man's life through the institution of education, post offices, hospitals, and other sources which protect the system and use various means in the economic structure to weaken the people. COX stated the system is a capitalistic system and this is why we must be revolutionary to overthrow the capitalistic system and bring about a socialistic system. (u)

BOBBY SEALE commented on the article and stated that "We (the Panthers) are the vanguard of the people and the only organization capable of liberating the people in this country." SEALE said because of the threat to the system by the party, they have been ruled as a subversive organization by "that racist pig, J. EDGAR HOOVER;" that they must educate the students on campus and the people in the community on what is going on and cannot move without the people with us. SEALE also spoke of freeing political prisoners and stated that the Black Panther Party is the vanguard of the people, not black people only, and they have a hard job confronting them. Because of the party being under surveillance by the "pigs", they must use every means necessary and will resolve all legal means, but everybody knows that power comes out of the barrel of a gun. (u)

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY-DOCUMENT
"REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION"
BY ELMERIDGE C. GAVIN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
CONFIDENTIAL

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING ALL
ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES OF THE BLACK
PANTHER PARTY AS THEY ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO
PREARRANGE THE LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL
FBI AGENTS. DUE TO THEIR PROVEN RECORD OF ATTEMPTS TO
KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AND
ASSOCIATES ARE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

(u)

CONFIDENTIAL

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by ROBBY SEYMOUR, BPP Chairman, and HUEY P. NEWTON, BPP Minister of Defense. NEWTON is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer. (u)

The official newspaper, 'The Black Panther,' which further describes itself as the 'Black Community News Service,' states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as 'pigs' who should be killed. (u)

'The Black Panther' issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, GEORGE MASON MURRAY, which ends with the following: (u)

'Black men. Black people. colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Charge. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere.' (u)

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of 'The Black Panther' is the statement, 'We will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it.' (u)

Issues of 'The Black Panther' regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that 'political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.' (u)

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File #

December 16, 1969

Title BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) - DOCUMENT
"REVOLUTION AND EDUCATION" BY ELDRIDGE
CREEVER

Character RACIAL MATTERS; SEDITIONOUS CONSPIRACY
SMITH ACT OF 1940

Reference Memorandum [REDACTED]
dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

XXXXXX
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XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
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105-165706-8-119 enclosure page 7 8/4/69

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AGENDA FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE

FOR A
UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM

July 18, 19, and 20, 1969
Oakland, California

FIRST
NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR A
UNITED FRONT AGAINST FASCISM IN AMERICA
(CALLED BY the NATIONAL COMMITTEES TO COMBAT FASCISM)

FORMAT OF U.F.A.F. CONFERENCE

FRIDAY

7:00 pm-11:30 pm 1) Introductory; keynote; Women versus Fascism
.....Oakland Auditorium

SATURDAY

10:00 am-1:00 pm 2) Workers versus Fascism.....
.....Oakland Auditorium....

2:00 pm-4:00 pm 3) Students and Education versus Fascism
.....Bobby Hutton Memorial Park

5:00 pm-7:00 pm Movie "Z".....Merritt College Auditorium
(59th and Grove)

8:30 pm-11:30 pm 4) Political Prisoners and Political Freedom
.....Oakland Auditorium

SUNDAY

10:00 am-12:00 pm 5) People's Health and Fascism
.....Bobby Hutton Memorial Park

12:30 pm-3:00 pm 6) Religion versus Fascism
.....Bobby Hutton Memorial Park

3:00 pm- 4:00 pm 7) American Servicemen versus Fascism
.....Bobby Hutton Memorial Park

5:00 pm-7:00 pm Movie "Z".....Merritt College Auditorium

8:00 pm-11:00 pm 8) Community Control (decentralization) of Police
(mass workshop)Oakland Auditorium

11:00 pm- 9) Final: the National Committees to Combat
Fascism in America.....Oakland Auditorium

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N

BERKELEY

TO RICHMOND

EAST SHORE FREEWAY

UNIVERSITY AVENUE

SAN PABLO AVE.

ASHBY AVE.

EMERYVILLE

SACRAMENTO ST.

15 KILLS

GROVE ST.

SHATTUCK AVENUE

TELEGRAPH AVENUE

UNIV. OF CALIF.

BLACK PANTHER PARTY NAT'L. HEADQUARTERS

MERRITT COLLEGE AUDITORIUM

STREET LIGHTS

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July 18, 1969

[REDACTED]

At 7:00 P. M., July 18, 1969, the conference of the United Front Against Fascism was opened at the Oakland Auditorium. BOBBY SEALE was the opening speaker and stated that the purpose of the convention was to "organize a united front to overthrow this fascist government, which is run by such men as the HUNT's, ROCKEFELLOWS and the KENNEDY's." He said that this is not a racial conference but a conference of different organizations pooled together to combat fascism. The whole theme of SEALE's speech was to overthrow the United States Government but no mention was made of overthrowing the government by violence. (u)

After SEALE's speech he explained the conference according to the agenda handed out at St. Augustine Church at the time of registration. (u)

After SEALE spoke, he introduced HERBERT APTHECKER. APTHECKER stated that the purpose of the conference is to organize a United Front Against Fascism and to overthrow the United States Government by whatever means necessary. He stated the "United States Government is at the same state as the German Government was at the time of HITLER's leadership before he exterminated the Jews," that TRICKY DICK (President NIXON) is a puppet to do the same thing in this country by declaring it in a state of emergency to protect the Government; that they have concentration camps already set up to put people in that they felt would overthrow the United States Government. APTHECKER said that the people will

have to be educated against police brutality, taxation, unfair employment, no political rights, et cetera.

At 9:00 P. M., the following seven women made speeches of fiteen minutes each:

0011	MARIE W. JOHNSON
0012	DIANE DERION, Sioux Indian
0013	ROBERTA ALEXANDER, Black Panther Party
0014	CAROL HENRY, Worker
0015	CAROL THOMAS, Southern Conference Education Fund
0016	HILDA VIGNATUN, Young Lords
0017	LORRAINE ALLBRITTEN, State Representative & Chairman Alameda County Welfare Rights Organization

The speech by all of the above women sounded like one record in that all their speeches were based on the overthrow of the United States Government, and the way it should be done was by a National Organization for a United Front Against Fascism.

July 19, 1969

On Saturday morning at 10:00 A. M., a group of workers representing the Unions made speeches regarding labor in which they stated that the country is being run by big business and that the Government is moving to remove the work law, and eliminating Unions having any bargaining with industry. The Government has no price control and percentage wise the rise in consumer prices was over the rise in salaries. They stated that the United Front Against Fascism should organize a government that would deal fairly with labor. They stated that the people would benefit from the profits from industry instead of a few like HUNT, ROCKER-FELLOW and KENNEDY. They stated that they must encourage other members of labor to join in this fight.

No question and answer session was held as called for in the program.

The following individuals were speakers for the workers:

CLEOPHUS BROWN, Laborer

ARCHIE BROWN, ILWU

NOEL VIGNATIN, UAW

SUSAN KAR, U. C. CLERICAL

ANDY CHAVES, FARM WORKERS UNION

BOB AVAKIAN, REVOLUTIONARY UNION

KENNY HORSTON, UAW BLACK CAUCAS

At 5:00 P. M., this conference was continued to Merritt College Auditorium, 59th and Grove Street, Oakland, California, where a movie "Z" was shown. This movie was based on a group of citizens who had organized to obtain better working conditions, living conditions, political representation, et cetera. The theme of the movie was also about a country spending too much money on war, big salaries, laws against the masses and the lack of freedom.

In this movie some doctor was supposed to speak to this group of people but a group of other citizens organized against this group, supported by the present government to assassinate the doctor.

In the movie the District Attorney began an investigation to find out why this doctor's life was not protected and in his investigation it was learned that the police department and a group of citizens supported by the government were together against the citizens' organization. The members of the police department and individuals against the citizens' organization were responsible for the killing of the doctor. Also, members of the citizens organization were found to be guilty as members of the Communist Party, and were sentenced as such. After this, members of the police department and people working with the police met with strange death, such as automobile accident, heart attacks, drowning and falling out of windows.

At 8:30 P. M., at the Oakland Auditorium the following speakers on Political Prisoners and Political Freedom made speeches:

PARENTS OF LOS SIETE DE LA RAZA

CALIF

CHARLES GARRY, Revolutionary Lawyer's Guild

CALIF

BILL KUNSTLER

DOX/COX, Black Panther Party. CALIF, ILLINOIS

CALIF

ELAINE BROWN, BPP (BLACK PANTHER PARTY) (CA),
FUGITIVE

JIM HERNON, Revolutionary Lawyer's Guild
C. A.

They stated that they are in the process of organizing a lawyers National Defense for the defense of political prisoners. The parents of RAZA SEVEN spoke out about the injustices that were meted out to their sons by the police department in San Francisco, California. They stated that their sons were only out in the community teaching and educating people in the community of their rights when arrested and that they had not violated any law.

BILL KUNSTLER spoke on the injustice that will be dealt out against people who the system (gover. ment) believes would be a threat to the present government; that this is the reason why so many persons are still in prison with high bond. He made reference to a recent Judge Conference held in the State of California, by Governor RONALD REGAN instructing the judges to inact stiffer sentences on these persons who are causing trouble; that if the judges did not follow these instructions they would have a hard time getting elected at the next election. He said he tried to get other lawyers to file a petition against the governor but they were afraid to do so; that this is why we must organize a National defense organization so that we can give the political prisoners the best representation possible.

DON COX (DC), Black Panther Party, New York City, New York, where the New York 21 was accused of bombing warehouses and department stores, stated this was not true because if they had done this they would have killed a whole lot of black people, and that the BPP is the van guard of the people, to help the people, not to hurt them.

ELAINE BROWN, BPP of California, stated her husband was a political prisoner while she was expecting a child and he was not in the area of the crime that he is accused of committing.

The other speakers placed great emphasis on HUEY P. NEWTON as a political prisoner; that a tape from the confession of a witness stated that the witness could not positively identify HUEY as the one who had killed a "cop." The testimony in court by the witness was that he could identify HUEY as the killer of the "cop." They stated from these conflicting statements they were petitioning the court for a new trial and if a new trial is granted HUEY would have to be tried on a third degree murder charge and that would automatically give HUEY a bond, and this is how they plan to get him out of jail.

At 2:00 P. M., a Youth panel of speakers talked about the youths' part to play in the National Organization of the United Front Against Fascism. They stated that the youths should organize on all college campuses to fight fascism; that the committee of youths should go into communities and educate the people through literature, speaking at meetings and at small

gatherings, so when the move comes, to move against the United States Government, to overthrow it, the people will know what part they should play. They stated that we must have masses with us to win. They put emphasis on how important it is to organize this National Committee against fascism.

The following individuals were speakers at this youth panel:

COLIF NATHAN HARE, BSU - SF State
COLIF JEFF JONES, SDS (Students for a Democratic Society)
COLIF RODGER ALVERADO, T.W.L.F.
COLIF LIL JOE, B.S.A. Southern California
COLIF OSCAR RIOS, Los Siete De La Raza
COLIF KEY MARTIN, TAMF

JEFF JONES, Students Organization for a Democratic Society (SDS) made a comment on why the Progressive Political Party was put out of SDS, and was not invited to attend this conference. He stated that the PLP wanted college administration to hire or employ blacks to do the domestic work at universities. This policy differs from that of SDS in that SDS is for fair labor for all people.

On Sunday, July 26, 1969, the following group of ministers, priests and Rabbis and Sisters spoke for more than two hours:

COLIF Father EARL MELL, St. Augustine
COLIF Reverend JESSIE JACKSON, SCLC
Rabbi ABRAHAM WEINBERG, Toronto, Canada
COLIF Reverend TOM GRISSON, Taylor Memorial United Methodist, Oakland

CCLIF Father EUGENE BOYLE, Sacred Heart, Oakland
 CCLIF Father JOHN MAXWELL, St. Andrews, Oakland
 CCLIF Rev. DICK YORK, Free Church, Berkeley
 CCLIF Rev. HANNIBAL WILLIAMS, W.A.C.O.
 CCLIF JOHN BOYD, New Seminary Movement
 CCLIF Rev. A. CECIL WILLIAMS, Glide Memorial Methodist
 Sister JANET, St. Andrews, Oakland
 CCLIF Father WILLIAM O'DONNELL, Sacred Heart, Oakland
 JOHN ECKELS, United Methodist, Oakland
 CCLIF Rev. RUSS SIMPSON, United Methodist, Colorado

The theme of the talks by the above ministers was religion versus fascism; that the present churches are preaching philosophy that is not a reality; that it does not practice what it preaches; that they are tired of hearing so much talk and they want action like Christ took when he was on the cross; that ministers also should be willing to die if necessary so that the people will survive. They stated that the present church is only an institution for the system (government) to rule the people; that there is no freedom of worship, for example men who feel they should not kill would have to go and kill in wars that only this fascist government would receive the benefit. They referred to Moses and stated there would always be persons in the fascist government who would be against such as Moses who was in Pharaoh's house and came out and worked against him, and also committed murder to save people, and if this becomes necessary we the ministers must pick up the gun and kill for the safety of the people. They stated that we should not advocate a religion that teaches milk and honey in the sky, but here on earth for the people; that until ministers are concerned about their congregation, where they work, where they sleep, how they eat,

and be free to participate in society, where they feel they should, they should be against a church which will not give the people these basic means; that the people should not support a church that will not give the people these things.

CIVIL

At 3:00 P. M., DON MACALLES, who stated he was a serviceman, talked about American Servicemen versus Fascism. They stated they had an organization set up inside and outside of the Armed Forces such as one in Fort Bragg, North Carolina, who are working underground in order to change the present policies of the Armed Forces; that many servicemen are being convicted and put in brigs for being a part of this movement. They stated we are working to get them out.

They stated that a lot of the servicemen overseas did not want to fight; that they felt they had no reason to fight, especially in Vietnam, and when these persons return to the United States, they will be recruited into various organizations against the Armed Forces. They stated they are also teaching young people not to go into the military service and advising them of different means to get those already in, out.

One hearing this speech could take a tape recorder, camera or any other electronic device into the speech.

CIVIL

At 8:00 P. M., BOBBY SEALE and PETER FRANK made talks about decentralization of the police by putting emphasis on the police departments, which they called the "pigs", was only hired to protect this fascist government by any means necessary we must move to control this force. They stated that we must educate out people of the importance of having their own community police force; that there will be chief of police but a commissioner that will be controlled by a fifteen-man council, that would be elected by the people through means of a petition signed by registered voters to be presented to the city councilmen of their desires in their communities.

After this speech the registration and recruitment for permanent membership for the United Front Against Fascism was had. They passed out applications to all people attending this speech, and asked them to fill them out and turn them back in; that each person would be sent information on what direction to take in their

community and other names of persons in their state, city or community, that would work with them would be sent to them.

The following literature was handed out or placed on a table to be picked up at this convention:

The Lumpenproletariat and the Revolutionary Youth Movement

by Bruce Franklin Call

The first major Black rebellions since 1943 broke out in several large cities in the summer of 1964. That fall, the Free Speech Movement erupted at Berkeley. Since then, it has become increasingly obvious that the Black Liberation Movement has a leading role in revolutionizing large sections of white youth, and recently we have come to see a Revolutionary Youth Movement in the mother country dialectically related to the struggle of the internal Black nation.

Clearly it is of crucial importance that there be for those engaged in both struggles a correct theoretical understanding of the relation between the two. In trying to arrive at this understanding, some people with both the Black and youth movements have started relying on the term "lumpenproletariat."

The reasons for this are clear. A section of white youth has dropped out of its privileged position and consciously assumed a sub-proletariat mode of existence. These "street people" now live a life at least superficially similar to that into which a large section of Black youth has been forced. Black and white young street people own no property, rarely sell their labor (in one case because they cannot, in the other because they will not), hustle and drift; they despise and are despised by bourgeoisie, petit bourgeoisie, and privileged sectors of the working class alike. Their resemblance to each other has now been driven home by the police, who have begun to use on the white drop-outs the kind of systematic terror and brutality usually reserved for Black and Brown people and the poorest whites.

All this has led some to theorize that the principal class struggle in the United States is not that between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat but that between the lumpenproletariat and all other classes, who are seen as more or less bourgeoisified. They visualize an anarchic force, made up of the most desperate and alienated sub-groups in society, ripping the vitals out of the Empire and dragging the rotting corpse to some fiery Armageddon. Since this idea has been advanced by some people strategically enough placed in the movement to be able to put it into practice, we must seriously analyze both its theoretical foundations and practical consequences.

To do this, we must answer two very large and difficult questions: What precisely is the lumpenproletariat? What are its possible roles in the American revolution?

Marxist-Leninist Theory and the Lumpenproletariat

The lumpenproletariat is a class that has received extremely little attention in classical Marxist-Leninist theory, and what little attention it has received is somewhat puzzling.

Marx and Engels were writing at a time when most other writers about the history of revolutionary struggle took a consistently bourgeois viewpoint. To these other writers, revolutions--and for them of course the French revolution was the archetype--were made by a mob, an undifferentiated mass, *le fou*. Marx and Engels, in singling out the industrial proletariat as the vanguard of socialist revolution, were anxious to distinguish it from that urban mob of the bourgeois writers. This may help account both for the contempt they express for the lumpenproletariat and for their lack of detailed analysis of its conditions of life, its consciousness, and its relations to capitalist production.

F B I

Date: 12/17/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706) (Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM
KILLINGS OF BLACK PANTHERS
BY POLICE)
BUDED 12/22/69

Re Bulet to SACs Albany and other offices, 12/15/69.

Review of Charlotte files were negative for any
instances of members or suspected members of the BBP having
been killed by law enforcement officers in N. C.

105-165706-8-118

5 DEC 19 1969

2 - Bureau (RM)
2 - Charlotte
THG:jat
(4)

RECEIVED
DEC 18 5 34 PM '69

RECEIVED
[Handwritten signature]

Approved: *[Signature]*
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date: 12/16/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-20192)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
RM - BPP

Re New Haven airtel to Bureau dated 12/11/69, duo-captioned, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM - BPP," and "WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, INFORMATION CONCERNING - MISCELLANEOUS, OO: NEW YORK."

Enclosed for Buffalo is one copy of referenced airtel.

Enclosed for New Haven is one copy each of Charlotte reports of SA [REDACTED], dated 7/29/69, and 9/30/69, and Charlotte FD-128 dated 11/28/69. *l*
all captioned [REDACTED]

On 12/15/69, through contact with the Charlotte Police Department Hot Desk, inquiry was made of the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles, Raleigh, North Carolina, and 1969 North Carolina license [REDACTED] was determined to be registered to [REDACTED] Durham, North Carolina, for a 1967 Volkswagen station wagon.

- 2 - Bureau
- 2 - Buffalo (Enc. 1)
- 2 - New Haven (Encs. 3)
- 2 - Charlotte
 - (1 - 157-6171)
 - (1 - 100-10657)

THG: dmm
(8)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

105-165706-8-117
DEC 18 1969
RACIAL SEC.

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
CE 157-6171 (Priority)

The enclosures contain background data concerning [REDACTED] it being noted that he was last in the Buffalo Division. Therefore, a copy of the referenced airtel is being furnished herewith to Buffalo.

2

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by
[REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly confidential source, on
12/1/69:

A representative from United Airlines (UAL) contacted
[REDACTED] one of the female workers of the National
Distribution Office of the "Black Panther" newspaper, saying
that the airline had not been able to deliver packages
destined for the following persons: E. T. GELER (pl) in
Linston-Salem, and OSCAR WASHINGTON in Greensboro. UAL said
that these individuals had not called for the packages and
the airline had not been able to get in touch with them at
the telephone numbers given. The above material is furnished
to Charlotte to indicate the problems being encountered in
that city by the newspaper Distribution Office.

- 1 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Charlotte (105-6171) (RM)
1 - San Francisco
1 - 157-2861
1 - 157-1581 (PUBLICATIONS)

SAC:ml
(7)

REC 17

105-165706-8-116

5 DEC 5 1969

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1969

51 DEC 15 1969

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 12/2/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)
SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by
[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source, on
11/28/69.

[REDACTED] from North Carolina contacted a man
named [REDACTED] asking if he had checked out an unidentified
brother in Charlotte. [REDACTED] said that he had. This matter
was not further discussed.

[REDACTED] then told [REDACTED] how everybody worked a 26 hour
a day at BPP Headquarters at Berkeley and it was "beautiful"
the way the party members were disciplined around headquarters.
[REDACTED] also said that he had been serving the children at a
breakfast program and selling newspapers in the field, as well
as going to classes and studying all night. He asked [REDACTED] to
get some money together and send it on out, inasmuch as they
needed "materials out there". (It would appear that [REDACTED]
wanted the money sent to headquarters so that material could
be sent back to Charlotte for work in BPP activity.)

[REDACTED] also told [REDACTED] to instruct [REDACTED], not further
described, to prepare a report, inasmuch as it was wanted for
printing in the newspaper. [REDACTED] then said he planned to be

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - Charlotte (157-6171) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco
 - 1 - 157-2861
 - 1 - 157-new

WAC:mb
(7)

REC-139

EX 110

DEC 4 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: DEC 16 1969
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M

SF 157-2364
WAC:nl

back in Charlotte in a couple of weeks.

The above material is being furnished to the Charlotte Division to indicate that [REDACTED] is active in LRP headquarters learning party procedures.

MEMORANDUM, FBI 105-165706-8

DATE: 11/11/69

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

SUBJECT: **BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE**

Information summarized below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF 2-16)

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP), National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

1 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1 - (157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

W-5-67

[REDACTED] to [REDACTED] says that he is calling from Charlotte, N.C. and that there are two people down here from Baltimore who say that they are panthers and were sent here by California and have offered assistance to him. [REDACTED] tells him that they have not sent anyone and those people are agents or pigs.

REC-94

105-165706-8-114

CC-806
Copy to Baltimore
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action

date 12-11-69
58 DEC 11 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Pay Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

FBI

Date: 12/1/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

The following information was furnished by
[REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly confidential source on
11/26/69.

MEMBER OF [REDACTED]
An individual named [REDACTED] last name not
given, but with telephone number 919-[REDACTED] contacted
Black Panther Distribution Office in San Francisco on
11/26/69, and talked to [REDACTED], the [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] said that he had been having trouble
with the people in Winston-Salem, who claimed that he
had not been paying for his papers. [REDACTED] said that
that was not true and that he had been paying for the
papers. [REDACTED] wanted a new delivery of 1,000 papers
sent to him. [REDACTED] mentioned that another man named
[REDACTED] (phonetic) "might be there". [REDACTED] did
not further explain this last statement.

The above material is being furnished to the
Charlotte Division to assist in its investigation of the
BPP in that territory.

- ② - Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8)(RM)
3 - Charlotte (157-6171)
2 - San Francisco (157-2861)
(1 - 157-1581) (PUBLICATIONS)

WAC:ajz
(7)

58DEC111969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

SAC, Charlotte (157-6171)

12/1/69

Director, FBI (105-165706 sub 8)

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

0 BLACK PANTHER PARTY - COMMITTEE AGAINST FASCISM
RACIAL MATTERS

A review of the November 22, 1969, edition of "The Black Panther," on page eight disclosed an article and picture concerning the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, branch of the National Committee to Combat Fascism which has implemented a free Breakfast for Children Program in the area. This article, which was apparently authored by Larry Little, follows the standard Black Panther Party (BPP) line and from all indications this group is an organ of the BPP.

You are referred to Bulet dated August 11, 1969, captioned "Black Panther Party - Committees Against Fascism, Racial Matters."

Instructions set forth in this communication require that the Bureau be immediately notified concerning the formation of a Committee Against Fascism in a form suitable for dissemination and that an intensive investigation be instituted to determine the aims, purposes and activities of the group along with the identities of its leaders and members. Accordingly, you should immediately conduct an appropriate investigation concerning this group, you should initiate a separate investigation concerning [REDACTED] and similar action should be taken concerning other leaders and members as they are identified.

No pertinent information identifiable with the group at Winston-Salem or Larry Little, in addition to that already known to your division was located as a result of a review of Bureau indices.

GES:fb
(5)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

19 DEC 2 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Letter to SAC, Charlotte

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - COMMITTEE AGAINST FASCISM

105-165706 sub 8

NOTE:

The Charlotte Division has been conducting a continuing investigation concerning groups within the state which have been seeking to affiliate with the BPP. The information contained in the 11/22/69 edition of "The Black Panther" indicates that an affiliate group is currently operated at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, which requires active investigation.

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI 105-165706-8
SAC, SAN FRANCISCO 157-2861

DATE: 10/9/69

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE
RM

Information excerpted below was received on date indicated from [REDACTED] (SF T-16).

Source reports on activity at Black Panther Party (BPP) National Headquarters, 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California.

The BPP is a violence-prone black militant organization headquartered in Berkeley, California, with chapters located throughout the United States.

Source operates under Departmental authorization, but is CONFIDENTIAL. If it is necessary to disseminate this information outside the Bureau, it should be suitably paraphrased to adequately protect this sensitive source.

(2 - BUREAU

2 - CHARLOTTE (157-6171)

1 - SF

1-(157-2861) SF BLACK PANTHER PARTY - CHARLOTTE

EX-111

REC-1

105-165706-8-111

12 NOV 28 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

1969

Q-23-69

[REDACTED] (ph) to [REDACTED] for [REDACTED] who is in the middle of an interview just now. [REDACTED] is calling about a chapter in North Carolina and he is calling from Shaw University, and will call back later.

FBI

Date: 11/3/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

In AIRTEL CONFIDENTIAL
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-7146) (C)

SUBJECT: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
RM - BPP
IS - SDS

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau dated 9/17/69,
enclosing LHM. (u)

Enclosed for the Bureau are 16 copies, and for
Chicago 7 copies, for WFO 3 copies, for Richmond 1 copy,
for New York 2 copies, and for San Francisco 2 copies and
Atlanta 1 copy of LHM in captioned matter. Copies have
been locally disseminated to Secret Service and military
intelligence agencies. (u)

Due to the language used by a number of the speakers
this LHM is being marked obscene. (u)

Classified by 6047 on 5-27-77
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification Indefinite

- 6 - Bureau (Encs. 21) (RM)
- 1 - Atlanta (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 7 - Chicago (Encs. 7) (RM)
- 2 - New York (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Richmond (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encs. 2) (RM)
- 3 - WFO (Encs. 3) (RM)
- 29 - Charlotte

THG:dmm

(51)

AGENCY: (SEE PAGE 2 FOR COPY BREAKDOWN)
RAO ATT: IDIU

CONFIDENTIAL

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

RACIAL INT. SECT.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(2); (b)(7)(C) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

_____ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

_____ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

- ☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-110 page 2

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Also enclosed for the Bureau are five tapes, not originals, which contain the taped speeches as set forth in the LHM. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] maintaining the original tapes in the [REDACTED] and has noted that in the event they are no longer considered of value [REDACTED] he will turn them over to the FBI. (u)

CE T-1 is [REDACTED] Chapel Hill, North Carolina, protected by request, as [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (u)

CE T-3 is [REDACTED] (c)
information to SA [REDACTED]

CE T-4 is [REDACTED]
North Carolina, protected by request. (u)

SA [REDACTED] conducted all other investigation at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, and SA [REDACTED] maintained liaison with Secret Service and military intelligence. (u)

It is noted that 6 copies of the airtel and 16 copies of the LHM are furnished to the Bureau due to the various organizations and personalities involved, as the Bureau may desire to place copies in other organizational or individual files. (u)

In view of the fact Counterorientation Week occurred without incident, this case is being considered closed. (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Charlotte, North Carolina

November 3, 1969

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference is made to memorandum made at Charlotte, North Carolina dated September 17, 1969, captioned as above.

On September 17, 1969, CE T-1 reported that Counterorientation Week at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, started at 2:00 p.m. that day with speeches by JAMES S. LEE, Acting Director of Training for the Foundation for Community Development, Durham, North Carolina, speaking on the black nationalist movement; ADOLPH L. REED speaking on "Plight of the Black Man;" and ALEX WILLINGHAM. The speeches were followed by a question-and-answer period and the participants included the speakers, GEORGE VLASITS, former State Organizer for the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC), and HOWARD FULLER, with the session ending at 4:15 p.m.

Later the same day, HOWARD FULLER spoke from 7:30 until 9:45 p.m., and observed in the audience was SAM AUSTELL, believed to be an organizer for the Students For a Democratic Society (SDS). An announcement was made that BOBBY LEE of the Black Panther Party (BPP) in Illinois and his group had

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NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

been detained in Richmond, Virginia, but would arrive for the morning of September 18, 1969. No incidents were reported for the day, with the attendance of the afternoon session estimated at 75, and there was no estimate received of the attendance at the evening session.

On September 18, 1969, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that according to the first meeting of the day took place at 4:00 p.m. on the University of North Carolina campus. The meeting was attended by approximately 50 people, 2 of whom were Negroes. Speakers included the president of Union Local 77, from Duke University, name unknown. He spoke about getting the union organized on the University of North Carolina campus. Other speakers included CLINT PINE, and one other unidentified individual who spoke regarding workers' rights and problems. The meeting ended at approximately 5:00 p.m. No incidents occurred.

[REDACTED] advised he recognized MEG ROSE and GEORGE VLASITS at the meeting with a literature table.

The second meeting began at 8:00 p.m. There was a film entitled "American Revolution II" shown from 8:00 until 10:00 p.m. The meeting was attended by approximately 350 people at the onset. Approximately half of those in attendance left before the end of the meeting. The speakers included CRAIG WALDEN, who only introduced the film, and the first full-length speaker was BILL FESPERMAN. FESPERMAN said people must relate to their class and relate to their roots. FESPERMAN advised the group had been in Richmond, Virginia, the previous night, and he said, "We're coming down south to work on local problems."

The second speaker was BOBBY LEE, who said a revolution is coming that should give more power to the people, and "Panthers are going to participate in a real war." LEE read some names of

RE: CCOUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

individuals in Charlotte and Greensboro, North Carolina, whom he said were impersonating Panthers. LEE left the impression that he would seek some sort of vengeance regarding them. The speakers refused to answer questions at the end of the speeches. The meeting ended at 11:40 p.m., and no incidents occurred.

On September 19, 1969, CE T-2 advised that on September 17, 1969, HOWARD FULLER, JAMES LEE, and BOBBY LEE, Field Secretary for the Illinois BPP, were observed at the Counterorientation Program at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The crowd contained approximately 20 black people and the rest were white. BOBBY LEE spoke about the Black Panther Party and the Black Panther Party Program, indicating that persons posing as Panthers in North Carolina were not affiliated with the national organization. JAMES LEE spoke briefly that the black man should not join the white man, and ADOLPH REED spoke of the cafeteria strike at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, during the spring of 1969.

A collection for the Malcolm X Liberation University was taken at the meeting, and it appeared that over \$100 was received, but no specific amount was reported.

On the night of September 17, 1969, HOWARD FULLER spoke in the Great Hall of the University of North Carolina, to a standing-room-only crowd, which included only about ten Negro students. FULLER arrived at the meeting accompanied by CATHERINE HARGROVE. The text of FULLER's speech was how a few business organizations which he identified to include the tobacco companies, power companies, and banks controlled all activity in Durham, North Carolina, resulting in oppression to the Negro people and their economy. FULLER said the Negroes did not need white assistance for anything. He said that the Negroes were no longer going to be good Negroes, and then he refused to tell the whites what the Negroes intended to do.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

Before FULLER's main speech, CHUCK HOPKINS talked briefly about the arrest of JAMES LEE at Sanford, North Carolina, setting it as another example of Negro oppression. He blamed the racial situation in Sanford, North Carolina, on the continuing agitation of the Negro population by the white people, and indicated that LEE was merely a catalyst to make the Negro people rebel against this oppression. HOPKINS denied that LEE had taken any action to in fact constitute or incite to riot.

One of the Negro people at this meeting was identified by FULLER as the leader of the Black Student Movement at the University of North Carolina. He was not, however, identified by name. This individual was an Albino Negro, possibly student WILLIAM DAVIS WILSON who has very light skin and has blond hair.

On September 23, 1969, CE T-3 advised that on September 21, 1969, at 8:00 p.m., there was a panel discussion on Marxism held in Room 207 of the Carolina Union. Among those participating was ED LAVALLE, Duke instructor; GEORGE VLASITS; ADOLPH REED; and NICK ATKINS, a Duke instructor. There were about 75 persons attending, and in general the speeches concerned the merits of Marxism as a method for liberating the American people, especially the working classes. The speakers took turns talking and there was a lot of talk about the need to reform American society. NICK ATKINS announced at the beginning of his speech, "I am a Marxist," and ADOLPH REED said that "Marxism is the best way for black people to bring about the changes they want." GEORGE VLASITS discussed the role of students, whether they should work through the community or on campus to bring about the "reordering" of society. ED LAVALLE also said that "Though we must get the working classes behind us in order to reform American society, there will still be bloodshed because the capitalists aren't going to give up their profits without a fight."

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA,
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

On September 23, 1969, CE T-3 reported that on September 22, 1969, at 7:30 p.m., in Room 111, Murphy Hall, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, there was a discussion on imperialism and American foreign policy. Among those attending were FRED BODE, University of North Carolina history professor; LARRY KESSLER, also a University of North Carolina history professor; and GEORGE VLASITS and CARL DAVIDSON, a former officer of the Students For a Democratic Society.

VLASITS began the meeting at 7:30 p.m. by showing two films. The first film was on the United States exploitation of Venezuela and the revolutionary movement there. The second film was on present-day Cuba, how the country is prospering, how happy and well fed the people are now that the United States has been removed. These films lasted about an hour.

Then VLASITS introduced the speakers. FRED BODE spoke about the history of United States imperialism, condemning THEODORE ROOSEVELT and WOODROW WILSON and contrasted United States imperialism with nineteenth century British imperialism. LARRY KESSLER then took over. He said, "The countries that the U. S. call underprivileged are not underprivileged at all but they are super-exploited by the U. S., countries like Vietnam, Venezuela, etc." He blamed the United States for starting World War II with Japan. He said that we (the United States) have isolated Red China, not China herself.

CARL DAVIDSON spoke briefly about his trip to Cuba. He said that AID was exploiting South American countries by paying for the construction of houses for the poor but then allowing American building contractors to charge the poor people more than three times the cost of the building.

On September 29, 1969, CE T-4 made available tape recordings made of the following meetings:

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

Wednesday, September 17, 1969

"The Black Liberation Struggle"
2:00 p.m., Room 111, Murphy Hall

"Black Liberation in North Carolina"
8:15 p.m. - Great Hall, University of
North Carolina Student Union

Thursday, September 18, 1969

"Community and Factory Organization"
4:00 p.m. - Room 207, Carolina Union

"American Revolution II"
7:30 p.m., - Great Hall

Monday, September 22, 1969

"Vietnam Will Win"
4:00 p.m. - Room 207, Carolina Union

"Imperialism--A Look at American Foreign Policy"
7:30 p.m. - Room 111, Murphy Hall

CE T-4 noted that [REDACTED] the meeting
on Marxism on September 21, 1969.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

(The following introductory comments were made by ADOLPH REED.)

This is the first thing on the program for orientation of the Black Liberation Struggle. (voice from audience, unintelligible.) Ha, no I don't know how to fool with these things. So I just yell. This is the first panel on the Black Liberation Struggle and the speakers are, the first speaker is going to be JIMMY LEE from the Foundation for Community Development who's going to talk, who's going to try to give an analysis of change in the movement, in the black movement. Transitive change in the last 15 or 20 years. And then I'll try to talk a little bit about the cultural importance of, of . . . okay. Then I'll try to talk a little bit about the cultural importance of Black Nationalism as a tool for the liberation of black people. And finally, ALEX WILLINGHAM, a graduate student of political science here, will summarize the things that we've said and then add some more.

Before we get started with the speakers, as you can probably guess, the films aren't here right now, the two films that were scheduled. However, we hope to have the Black Panther film sometime today, right GEORGE? And BOBBY LEE also, the field secretary for the Illinois Panthers, isn't here yet. He was detained in Richmond. But he should be in sometime today, and he definitely will be here for the program tomorrow night. So, here's JIMMY LEE.

(The following speech was made by JIMMY LEE.)

I see we managed to get some reporters here, and no telling who else we got in here. For the benefit of the reporters who are willing to make the equation, no, I am not a Black Panther, and for the benefit of other people who might be suspicious, no I'm not working for the CIA.

What I want to do just for a couple of minutes, and maybe we can lead into some questions, is kind of remind you of things

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

that you probably already know and sort of maybe lead into some reasons why these things that you already know have happened. You know, it's become obvious in the past few months to some, and in the past few days to others, and in the past few years to still others, that black people have changed their view of what the liberation struggle is, and that black people have changed the emphasis of the liberation struggle. And so what I want to do is kind of look at where things started out and the erroneous analysis that led to things starting out at that particular point and see what sorts of things have happened to make the changes that have taken place.

The initial thrust, if you want to begin 20, 15 years ago, the initial thrust of the black movement was toward integration. Integration without much concern about what was integrated or why it was integrated. Just the initial thrust was integration. And this thrust came about as a result of black people looking at the condition of black people and saying something's wrong. We don't know exactly what it is, but something's wrong and let's look around and see what's wrong. We know we are poor, we know we are uneducated, we know we can't get jobs, we know we can't buy hot dogs at Kress. We know this and we know that, but why is it?

And the answer that came out at that time was the answer that said the reason that this is true is because we're separate. We're separate. What we need to be doing is trying to integrate and become part of the system and once this happens everything is going to be all right.

And so all sorts of things were tried. People got locked up. People sat down, swam in, knelt in, did all kinds of things to try to get into the system. And the upshot of all that was that the people got into the system to a certain extent. You can go and buy a hot dog at Kress now, and even sit down at the lunch counter. You don't have to go in the back door. You can try on clothes at downtown stores. You don't sit upstairs at the movies any more. You even managed to get some civil rights laws passed and sued a couple of white folks because they didn't obey those laws.

But pretty soon, black people began to look around again. They said, okay, we got this, we got this integration to a limited degree. Our kids got freedom of choice and they can go to school wherever they want to, but something is still wrong. And a couple of kids in Alabama came up with a phrase to describe what was wrong and what was needed. STOKELY CARMICHAEL and WILLIE RICH screamed "black power" one day. And what they meant at that time was that we're involving ourselves in the system, but we still don't have any influence over it. Because all parts of the system that we need to be influencing are controlled by white folks.

So we need some black power. We need to organize black people to the point where black people can go to the system with some sort of power base, present demands, and influence the decisions that the system is making. Influence white people to make the kinds of decisions that are going to be appropriate for black people. And so the drive was made for black power. And there was a time when black power, when black power even as it was definted by white folks, was totally unacceptable. And that hadn't been too long ago. I imagine for some folks, I hope nobody in here, that the concept of black power was really unacceptable, and when you said I'm a black power advocate, you know, folks started to shrink away from you. It was some real hip white folks and some crazy black folks who could get away with saying I'm a black power advocate, and everybody would say Yeah, okay, yeah, right on, you need black power.

But pretty soon it became acceptable that black power is, in fact, what black people need to be fighting for. But this was black power as defined by white folks. This was the black power that said what black people need to be doing is trying to get in and influence the decisions that are made concerning their lives. Well a lot of tactics were used for that. The base of the whole thing was community organization or labor organization, and the tactics that were used to influence decisions ranged any place from petitions to burning buildings down.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

But pretty soon it became apparent to black people that this was not the answer. That black power as we just defined it wasn't going to work and that influencing the decisions wasn't really the important thing. What's important, what's important is not influencing the decision but making the decision. And it's toward making the decisions in black communities that the black movement is now moving.

We hear talk of the movement now being described as a liberation struggle. And for people talking about making decisions it seems kind of weird to go into a thing of liberation. And I think what's happening now is that black people are recognizing that the nature of the problem merits black people defining the black community in terms of the black community being a colony. A colony within the white mother country which must be liberated if black people are to successfully make the decisions that have to be made. Black people are recognizing that the real problems, the real problems that are facing black people are poverty and racism, and that within the context of a racist white America the chances of black people making, making their own decisions and governing their own destinies are pretty slim.

It's also recognized that within the context of an economic system that places more emphasis on profit and property than it does on human life, then the chances of survival of poor black people or decreasing the number of poor black people in proportion to affluent people period, is very slim. And so the whole emphasis of the movement is being shifted toward liberation of an oppressed colony and toward changing economic and cultural systems to make them directly relevant to the needs of black people.

This, I hope, will serve as kind of a guide for later discussion.

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(The following speech was made by ADOLPH REED.)

Well now, Brother LEE has just defined the problem of black people in colonial terms, which I think makes the concept of black nationalism more important, because as a colonized group black people do represent a distinct nation within a nation in the United States, and as a matter of fact, in the whole of Western society, but particularly here in the United States.

And also I'd like to say this is not a new way of looking at this problem. I think black nationalism has been in existence or positive feelings toward black nationalism have been present within the black community since the first slave ships got here. BENJAMIN BANACA (phonetic), for example, argued for some sort of generalized black nationalism when he conferred with THOMAS JEFFERSON. And, God I hate to say that man's name, and MARTIN DELANEY was one of the foremost black nationalists this country has ever seen. MALCOLM X, scores of others.

And well, in terms of the liberation of black people, black nationalism creating a sense of national unity for our black people in the United States, is of utmost importance. Because we can't begin to discuss liberating ourselves unless we are rooted firmly in our own ethnic, cultural, national circumstances, which is half American at best. Probably not American at all.

And the civil rights movement failed because, as JIMMY pointed out, there was not this consciousness of the black nation and of how to deal with the black nation.

They are civil rights leaders to the extent that they let anybody. We're concerned primarily with being integrated into a burning house, into a, into the prevailing economic, social, and political system in the United States during the late 50's and the early 1960's, because they somehow thought that we didn't have to conceive of ourselves as a distinct nation of people and a distinct cultural group to get ourselves over in the struggle. They didn't conceive of it as a liberation struggle; it was an integration struggle.

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And right now I know there are many movements or many people in the white left who are pretty much opposed to black nationalism because they view it as counter-revolutionary or whatever the hell else they view it as, and frankly, that just doesn't have anything to do with the real world. See, black nationalism has to be just as legitimate as Vietnam nationalism, and as Cuban nationalism, as Chinese nationalism and as Russian nationalism. Because this is the tool that black people have to, to liberate themselves.

You know, superficial things, such as the tendency among many black people to view white institutions as being somehow ipso facto better than black institutions. This is the kind of thing that black nationalism fights off. The only way that there can be any equality between black people and white people in this country is through our rooting ourselves in our own cultural traditions, in our own cultural values, in our own language, music, and Beltan Shan (phonetic), if I can use Max FAVOR's terminology. We've got to stick with our unique way of perceiving the world if we are to be liberated.

(The following speech was made by ALEX WILLINGHAM.)

I just want to make some quick remarks here regarding what seems to me to be some of the fundamental, underlying changes that have been going on that show the kinds of things that JIM and ADOLPH have been talking about. But let me just start off by clearing myself too, regarding the most aggressive, repressive forces in this country. And I'll do that by simply relating to you my own change of view regarding my own position on the list of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I was very proud when they came and checked me out back in January, because I knew then that whatever else that meant, it meant that I was going to be on their list, and as always, I'm very proud to be with my people.

As luck would have it, however, I was in my Fascist hometown the last couple of days ago, and this friend of mine, a Negro fellow who is now working on the police force down there,

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is being investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for police brutality, which means that he is on the list also. And I've now been thinking about trying to get myself off of there and clear my name.

Let me just try to . . . it seems to me that what has happened basically here, and trying to get, of course, the more basic and fundamental kinds of notions, is that the whole movement on the part of black people has gone from a sort of one-dimensional, uni-dimensional sort of thing to a more multi-dimensional and a more dynamic approach.

I remember, for example, when I was in undergraduate school, people did not raise questions about such things as integration. You didn't raise them with black people. You didn't raise them with white liberals. You just didn't raise these kinds of questions. The whole ideology of integrationism was assumed to have answered all of the kinds of questions of a political, theoretical nature that black people should be interested in. I think that what happened when STOKELY and them first raised the question in a popular context of black power nationalism, is that we saw then that there were various other kinds of questions that we did have to deal with. And the whole culture of black people, the whole potency of black institutions and what have you, and various other kinds of questions that MALCOLM particularly raised and, of course, they are now quite common and that we have been talking about up here already, are the kinds of things that came up front-stage center.

But let me just try to indicate some of the kinds of differences that were involved here. For example, there was this hang-up, and this thing reached its epitome in one of the great liberal documents we've had from the civil rights movement. We've had two great liberal documents. One of these was the Moneyham (phonetic) report on the black family. Well, that gentleman played the dozen with us, and I don't play the dozen with white folks, so I'll just let him go. The other great one was that report of the Kerner-Lindsey Commission as they say. And the whole principle reached its epitome, I think, in the Kerner-Lindsey report where, when we look at the thing in the terms of

its so-called finding, we kind of conclude here that the great principle in this country has, in fact, been racism. It is suggested to us that we should deal with some attitude of sex on the part of white people which is somehow or another related to our own kind of principle. And, of course, that was a crucial integrationist notion. The principle was that white folks just didn't understand and they had this hang-up. They thought we descended from the monkeys and I kind of hope that we were. And that sort of thing, and we should, therefore, work to change our kinds of institutions, to improve their own attitudes, to civilize white folks as STOKLEY CARMICHAEL put it three or four years ago.

There was, therefore, this interest in white attitudes which you see directed our attention away from the attitudes of black people, the opinions of black people, and what have you. What really mattered was white folk.

This meant, of course, on the other hand, a sort of de-emphasis on black attitudes as I've just said and a generalized de-emphasis, as ADOLPH was saying, on black institutions period and what they could do. Black institutions, black organizations were assumed to be way stations. These way stations were temporarily there until white America was sufficiently civilized, in which case they would fade away as the case may be, wither away to make this thing look more proper here, wither away. And we would all then get into the great American mainstream. Well, of course, we now know, all of us admit, there is no American mainstream. HOWARD CRUSE (phonetic) listed a crucial point. He said okay, let's assume I'm going to integrate. Name the group that I'm going to integrate with. Would it be the wops, would it be the Catholics, would it be the Jews, the American Indians? Which is the American group with whom I'm supposed to integrate? Specify that, corporation executives or eastern professors?

Okay, so we came to see then that this wasn't in many ways a sort of multi-racial system, multi-ethnic society, as they say. And the problem was not that it wasn't multi-racial, but the fact that rather limited groups of people were running the whole show for everybody else, including black people. The point then is to identify those people who took back all these power positions and to remove their feet from our backs, as the case may be.

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Okay, a second kind of thing had to do, and this, of course, is directly related to the whole integration ideology and which is definitely undergoing changes now, is the fact that we simply did not have a critical perspective on the American system. We had no way of really coming, finding how we could criticize the system. The best thing we could see is that that man, that white man, is a racist. And there are some Negro people who are not qualified, but when it came down to grappling with basic problems about the way that the structure, the political and social structure, in this country operates, we simply did not have the kind of critical positions that are absolutely necessary for groups who pretend to be standing for basic and fundamental change, or what we now call liberation.

We had no critical perspective, and that had a lot of implications. HOWARD CRUSE (Phonetic) has pointed out a lot of them, I think, quite cogently. For one thing it leads to a sort of simple conformism by which black people or whatever other group is involved, we know this has happened historically with black people, make an effort to in very minute detail conform to what it is that is expected of them from, or by, chief group itself, as they say the dominant group. NATHAN HAIR (phonetic) tells a little thing about a cocktail party he was at one time in Washington, D. C. And this cocktail party was populated by civil rights Negroes. And what had happened is that they had forgotten that there were no white folks there, but they were pretending that white folks were there anyway, so they had Beethoven on the box and champagne in their hands, being careful to hold out the smaller finger. So NATHAN HAIR, who you probably know NATHAN HAIR, from what I can understand, he has his difficulties thank goodness. So what he did was to go over to the box and slip RAY CHARLES on there somewhere down the line.

And after two or three records fell, everybody was standing there in those long tails with that little finger, sipping that champagne, thinking about their Thunderbird, I just might point out. And RAY CHARLES fell. And it was back in those days when RAY had that tune I called "What I Say." And

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you probably remember how that record started off, don-don-de-do, et cetera. And they lost their whole cool and went into their thing. Without ever recognizing what had happened here.

And you know what you had here were all different people repressing their own sort of thing all unable to raise, and in this context musically of course, but that's you know, an example. But I'm able to raise on the basis of that sort of bland conformism, any kind of crucial or critical points about the kind of society in which they live.

Now I just might point out as far as I'm concerned the extent to which white liberals and white radicals support any kind of crap like this is the extent to which they are contemptuous of what I consider to be quite important in critical thinking and they are ultimately contemptuous for black people as a thinking group of people.

Okay, just let me make another point and it has to do I think with the limited commitment that black people, Afro-American people, have to other oppressed people. And I said that a few minutes ago and JIM quite correctly corrected me. He said during those days we didn't have no commitment to other oppressed people anywhere. And I think it is a warranting point and the kind of thing we have to consider. STOKLEY CARMICHAEL summed the thing up some time ago and it's a quite popular slogan now like many others, but by the holy notion that the enemy of my enemy is my friend. And, but the feeling that somehow or another we represented a sort of America first, and that you know, we had a certain culture, culture, gemini, that made you superior to American Indians or Vietnamese people and what have you. It's really a bunch of crap.

I would argue, for example, that the problems that are faced by the black underclass in this country, by the street people in Hanoi, or the National Liberation Front, and by many, many, way too many poor people throughout this entire world, emanates, as SEAWRIGHT MEARS (phonetic) once pointed out, from the same places that ours do; namely, Wall Street, and 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

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So therefore, black people, I think, now are deciding, and I agree with this wholeheartedly, that our commitment is to our ourselves first, foremost, and to other oppressed people if, in fact, we want to show our own humanity in some sense or another.

Okay, secondly, and I think this is another crucial problem (next few words unintelligible), is that we had simply lost all sophistication regarding radical movements in this country. And this is another reason why the book by CRUSE (phonetic) is so very important. Because we did not have, here again, a critical perspective, and in some cases we just didn't know what people had been doing. And this held both for disordered history of the white left, white radicals, but also for the great black people who did dissent, and I do not mean dissent in MARTIN LUTHER KING fashion (rest of sentence unintelligible.) Fundamental dissents from the nature of this whole culture and readiness to leave it and get out of it.

Okay, so we have had these great critics and we have not been aware of these people, and it seems to me it would be quite necessary now to deal with these people. I think Lester, I'm sorry, ha ha, there's a slip. I think that the point was made quite clear in _____ (unintelligible). If we are going to sit here and say that these damn slave owners such as GEORGE WASHINGTON and ABRAHAM LINCOLN, and THOMAS JEFFERSON, and various other racists, out and out low-down racists, are our heroes, if these are the people we're going to pick for heroes, if we're going to tell black kids that they must memorize the list of the presidents of the United States, then what we're telling them that they're doing actually is memorizing, I suppose there may be some benefits to this too, memorizing from the main perpetrators of the very oppression that we are faced with today. This kind of thing has to be turned around. We got to come to see that when we look at history we got to select as heroes those people who have, in fact, given their lives for the liberation of black people in particular, and for the advancement of humanity in general. And that is not GEORGE WASHINGTON, that is not ABRAHAM LINCOLN, that is not WILLIAM MC KINLEY or TEDDY ROOSEVELT. I got serious

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questions about FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT or KENNEDY pretended and didn't make it. And NIXON don't even pretend.

Okay, now finally, and this is the last point I want to make here, I certainly want to point out that what it meant when we moved from a uni-dimensional thing is that we did have to raise broader social questions now. We couldn't limit ourselves with the race thing. We have to deal with the capitalism and what it means and that sort of thing. Middle-classism or white-classism, or whatever that sort of stuff may mean, and that kind of thing. And the whole variety of questions.

And I think that these people who are so apt to criticize what they call black studies are really missing the point. Black people are saying that we are going to raise questions from the point of view of the black perspective and every field in which we operate, be that field history, where it's fairly easy, or political science or sociology or be that field geography, or whatever the case may be. The question will be raised from the point of view of the black perspective. Or be it space technology as the case may be. There are important questions here. There are important questions that we will have to try to generate ourselves, and we, in fact, insist that these kinds of questions be raised. Now that we have moved from that other notion, now that we know it's not a matter of change in RICHARD NIXON's heart, we know now that we can start dealing with the fundamental, structural characteristics of this country.

(The following comment was made by ADOLPH REED.)

Okay now, I guess we'll take questions from the floor and general discussion.

(Following this, a question and answer session was held; however, it was unintelligible.)

(The following introductory comments were made by ADOLPH REED.)

Two very brief announcements: one is that the earliest speaker this evening, two of the speakers will be here tomorrow night. They will be here showing a film called "American Revolution II," that's BILL FESPERMAN and CRAIG WALDEN. And with them will be BOBBY LEE from the Illinois Black Panther Party. And they will show the film and discuss it afterwards. That's tomorrow evening at 7:30 here.

The other announcement is that after the talks are over and we begin a question and answer period, some people will pass through with collection buckets. This money will be used to defray the cost of our speakers and to help with the work that they are doing at Malcolm X University, Malcolm X Liberation University, I'm sorry.

The topic for this evening is an attempt to bring the discussion of this afternoon on the black liberation struggle to the local level and to discuss the matter of the black liberation struggle in North Carolina, what is happening. And the two speakers that we have here this evening may be supplemented by some more a little later on. Our two people have been involved in this struggle, at least as long as I've been in North Carolina, which is three years. CHUCK HOPKINS, a former leader of Duke Afro-American Society, and currently with Malcolm X Liberation University, and HOWARD FULLER, and there are a lot of formerlys here, but most recently with the Foundation for Community Development, and now with Malcolm X University. I guess that's really all the introduction these speakers need, and I'll turn it over to them.

(The following speech was made by CHUCK HOPKINS.)

Well, HOWARD and I have decided to divide this thing up into, you know, into two sections. And he's going to deal with the black liberation struggle in North Carolina as it relates to the black community. And I'm going to do a thing on, you know, on what we're trying to do on the campuses.

Starting out in dealing with the campuses, we have to first of all, you know, look at what education is all about in this society or any society. You have to recognize first of all that education has two primary roles. One is that it passes on the culture and the customs and so forth of the society to the younger members. The second role of education is that it provides the skills for the younger members to deal with the problems that they have to confront in society.

In a particular situation of black people being in a colonized situation in relationship to the overall society, we find ourselves in a very unique position in that as far as black people are concerned, our most desperate need is one of liberation. We are faced with the question of asking the oppressor to provide us with the education to relieve us of our oppression. We've come to realize that this will not come about.

Education in racist and capitalist America does not teach black people how to deal with the problems that originate from racist capitalist America. We have to recognize this.

In the last couple of years the efforts as far as what black people have been doing on the campuses have been centered around the goal of a lot of other struggles throughout the nation. There are black studies, trying to introduce black studies into the curriculum. From my experience at Duke I learned, you know, one important lesson about trying to introduce black studies into the curriculum, particularly on predominantly white campuses. At Duke, you know, we had the usual list of demands, about twelve demands, one very important one being for an institution of a department of black studies. The key question of black studies in mind was for some semblance of control for black people in the program. This was the key issue. This was the issue that forced us to do a lot of other things, you know, after we left the Allen Building. After we came out of the building, you know, took the building and came out. The subsequent renigging on this particular issue of control forced us to go into a lot of other things.

But the important thing that we learned was that the administration was willing to give us all kinds of things, you know, as far as courses. They had a thing about three inches thick, you know, paper to run down program to implement for us. But the key question of control, they don't want to deal with. So we found out that we couldn't go along with that and subsequently we got into a lot of other things.

To understand why we couldn't go along with that, I guess I have to talk about what we mean by black studies, or black education, because, you know, that's what we are talking about. Black studies kind of limits the thing, kind of sets it off, you know, in a corner. But we are really talking about an in-depth systematic black education program, which because of our situation in society, will have to of necessity come from a revolutionary base to deal with the problems that we're facing. So again, we face the simple thing of awaiting DUKE, which especially in this area represents the vastness of racism and oppression in this area. DUKE is one of the key people who runs the town of Durham and the surrounding area.

And so we were faced with, you know, asking these people to provide us with the tools for liberation. No, this wasn't to be.

So the next thing that we decided to do was that a counter-institution was necessary if we were to get the correct kind of education that we wanted to deal in. The idea for Malcolm X Liberation University evolved from this. Malcolm X Liberation University represents independent effort on the part of some black people to establish a real, relevant, educational program, to deal with the real problems that face black people in the society. I wish to stress that because of our condition, this program of necessity has to issue from a revolutionary base.

The efforts generally in North Carolina as far as students are concerned have been to establish a kind of one-ness, a kind of togetherness with the black community. This has been exhibited in the last couple of years in the Orangeburg situation when three

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brothers were murdered in Orangeburg, South Carolina, and subsequently coordinated action was developed in North Carolina when approximately eleven cities had happenings.

You know, we were developing the thing that if it happens to one, then you deal with all. Another example of this might be the situation at A and T University in Greensboro which occurred last spring. This was a situation wherein some brothers at Dudley High School in Greensboro were, a brother happened to be a member of a quote unquote black militant organization, and therefore, he was not allowed to run for Student Council President. But he won on write-in votes anyway, but you know, the principal wouldn't let him, you know, take office. So, sisters and brothers over at the high school, they had a thing going on and they moved that thing over to A and T, and they had a thing over at A and T. It blew up into an armed military action against the pigs in Greensboro when the brothers held off the biggotty governor of North Carolina, the Southern governor of North Carolina SCOTT's forces for two nights in a row.

And then in a very beautiful guerrilla fashion when the pigs tried to swoop in at dawn, the brothers, like all guerrillas, split. Nothing was there, nothing but some dummy ROTC rifles. And the pigs . . .

So you can see in a situation like that that the struggle has advanced to a different level. I think that the next go-round you're going to be seeing very few people, you know, sitting in buildings, taking over buildings, you know, placing themselves in positions where they would be sitting ducks for racist cops to come in and bludgeon them and shoot them. That the next go-round is going to definitely be a more intensified struggle and definitely on a higher level.

I think that another thing that came out of that A and T thing was that on the night SCOTT sent his National Guard in because they were frustrated in not finding anybody in the building, they went about, you know, their lawful duty to destroy the property of the brothers, like TV's and stereos and so forth, you know,

that they had in their rooms. The rooms were shot up. Each of the locks in Scott Hall were shot off the doors, you know, like somebody was in there so they had to shoot the locks off. And the State Government refused to pay for this. SCOTT and his boys refused to pay for this, and the administration of A and T has got to get the money of some kind to paint all those rooms and so forth. So SCOTT at a big dinner recently where he invited all the presidents of the student bodies to come in and talk, the brothers got together and said they were going to boycott him, which was a good thing in that it showed SCOTT that you know, you just don't forgive certain things, you know, that people do to you.

Another thing that's been going down with black students in North Carolina has been the Black Students United for Liberation. This is a state-wide organization of black students, both high school and college. It's two years old now. It came into being about a year and a half ago, I believe. It's about two years old now. Again, efforts here have been to, you know, coordinate some of the things that are going to have to go down in this state before black people can really advance any significant degree to deal with their problems.

Another thing that I would like to get into a little bit concerns the future view, or look at the future as far as black students are concerned in North Carolina. And this has to be like a temporary view because we are recognizing that things are changing pretty fast. I think that the oppression that has been coming down on us, you know, we can see that it's increasing from day to day. SCOTT and forces have just released a new batch of riot laws and so forth that they passed in June which kind of tightens up things. So, you know, the oppression is really increasing, so when you talk about the future, you know, what we're going to be doing in the future, it's kind of, you know, you have to look at it temporarily, because things are changing pretty fast.

One of the things that we've had to deal with again is this black studies thing. And I think that in the future people

are going to be recognizing the black studies program does not meet the needs of black people. Black studies has become like a cliché that everybody uses. And everybody assumes, you know, that everybody else understands it like they understand it. Black studies that are implemented by white faculty or white administrators, such as they are, four-course black studies program at Duke, do not serve to meet the needs of black people as far as relevant education. And most what they'll probably do is add to the frustration of black students entering into these programs seeking to seek some kind of relevancy.

So we have to go beyond that and we have to come right out and flatly reject the forced institutionalization of the black studies program on predominantly white campuses. As far as the black campuses are concerned, we have to equally and just as strongly reject black studies programs on black campuses. It's a clear contradiction for a campus to call itself a black campus and at the same time have somewhere stuck over in the corner something called a black studies program. On the black campus then it should be able to provide a relevant education for students. Therefore, a black studies program isn't serving the purpose.

One of the other areas where black students have been moving into or working with other black people, that is in the area of the workers, the black workers on the campus, the janitors, maids, cafeteria people, for this was exhibited in the thing that went down here last spring. Black students over at Duke working with Mr. HARVEY (phonetic) over the Local 77. I could you know, see an increased effort in that area. Black workers in these areas are becoming more militant as far as trying to deal with their problems.

But the real step as far as we're concerned where black education is going is that key thing that we mentioned before, and that's control. And from now on that's going to be the deciding criteria. It has to be as far as black people are concerned as far as relevancy in education. It's got to be controlled. This has got to be with black studies program control. It's going to have to be control of the educational system in the public schools.

So as far as North Carolina is concerned in education, I can see black people moving into that area on the issue of control of black education.

(The following speech was made by HOWARD FULLER.)

My purpose tonight is to go off the campus now a little bit and give a brief review of what we've been doing in North Carolina. And I think that CHUCK and I in a sense appreciate the opportunity to come over and speak tonight. We just wish y'all would have called it something else besides "counter-orientation." It has a connotation like "counter-revolutionary," which always gets to be a problem. And probably what you should have called it is the disorientation session because obviously we want people to be disoriented from what they are going to be oriented to over here at UNC. So you know, like we hope that we can help disorient some people, you know, this evening.

I think, you know, the initial observation, a couple of observations I need to make so that it will be very clear, like who we're supposed to be representing tonight and all of that, that number one, people have a tendency to assume that when somebody black stands up they can start writing, this is how black people think because that black man said that. Well, I want to make it very clear that I don't know anybody, you know, that can represent all black people. And so I don't come here tonight representing all black people. I do not consider myself a leader because I do not know of anybody who had a meeting. I don't know any black people who had a meeting and elected me the leader. And one gets to be a leader by being elected.

So, at best what we could all be considered are spokesmen or people who have a particular viewpoint that may be shared by a significant number of people. And I hope that some of our views are shared by a significant number of people in this state, young, old, rich, poor, student, non-students, and all those other terms that we use to describe people.

Now, first of all, let's talk about North Carolina off the campus. Now just for the purpose of our analysis tonight, I'm going to make a distinction between like black people who are students and like black people who are non-students. Now, I hope that black students have at least come along to understand that just because you happen to be a tar heel, and that has a whole connotation in it of itself, you know, just because you happen to be here at UNC and are going to be sheltered for the next number of years that you will be here, that does not, you know, you cannot tear up your membership card for black people, you know, out here. You're still black and you best not forget that while you're here.

So we're only making these distinctions just for a purpose of analysis.

Now, the past few years the primary effort of people like myself has been to organize poor black people to confront the local racists involved. And I want to be very clear and make no mistake about it, and don't misquote me, that I'm talking about racist white folks in this state. Racist white folks who sit on city councils, racist white folks who are in the police departments, racist white folks who are governors, racist white folks who are mayors, and so therefore, the past four years we've been trying to confront these folks. But now I think we have to be honest and say that the confrontation has been mostly non-violent and mostly reform.

Now, we have really been essentially good niggers. Now, every now and then one or two of us has stepped out of line. But basically we've been playing the game by the rules that white folks set up. By that I mean our efforts have been to work through organizations like Community Action Programs, North Carolina Fund, Foundation for Community Development, and we've been using the tool of community organization. And even though, like our efforts through FCD, North Carolina Fund, and CAPS, even though we moved away from the standard civil rights thing of equal toilets, of equal seats at the space shot, we moved, you know, away from some of those kinds of things. Basically we were still talking about what we need is the opportunity.

So that really we tried to move into bread and butter issues like housing, even though like many white people and many colored people are still concerned about open housing, we've been trying to close the housing that's been open for a long time. We moved, you know, into areas like welfare, recreation, employment, et cetera. Now, as we were moving into these things, as JIM stated this afternoon, our movement was basically to be included into the decision making and we came out of some very naive bags like the problem is that black people just don't know how to work in this system. So what we got to do is to teach black people how to do that. So like we vote and we go to city council and we go to the Welfare Board, and go to all them folks. And we say "White folks, like we know y'all didn't know that we was living like this, but we've come here to tell you that we're living like this."

And so here we are, and this is a democrach and now we know how to work in y'all's democracy. So here we are. Now that was a very naive, you know, kind of assumption. But in our honesty it was a basic assumption that we were operating from.

A second kind of assumption was that although white people are, were, will, all that, racist, were racist, are racist, that when you confront them with a clear-cut and illegal action, even as they talk about illegal action, that they would do something. You know in other words, if you brought pictures of houses that were falling down, brought xerox copies of the building code that says houses shouldn't be falling down, and xerox copies of building code that said that the city is going to make the landlord fix the houses up that's falling down, then if we brought all that and let it out to them, little petition, got to have petition, got to be signed by five folks, that they would say like "that's right," like "We going to fix the house."

Now you know, we laugh, but you got to understand that this is where we were coming from. And then look, man we wrote petitions, we got petitions, mammy, we got petitions of everything. We got them from way back so you know, we're into that. And the

legal process, you know, like let's go to court. Can you dig it black folk, you know let's go to court. You know, let's take them to court. So we were going to court. Let's get a bi-racial committee, see because always the problem of communications. When you talk about problems, the first thing the white folks say is we just don't know how to communicate. And we're saying "That's right," so let's get a bi-racial committee. And we'll be communicating and everybody will be talking to each other and all that. So that's just you know, another very basic assumption that we made.

And then the last assumption we made was that a racist, capitalist system could, in fact, change its priorities from making money to doing something about the problems of people. See, like we really felt that somebody was going to say for us, "It's not as important to find a new way to process green beans to make more money as it is to get rid of cancer." That is not as important to spend two billion dollars so some cat can holler whoopee on a rocket, you know, it's not as important to do that as it is to have houses. But you know that a collection of rocks from the moon is not quite as important as people eating.

Now, we made, you know, those kind of naive, basic assumptions. Now, just this little bit of room, this mere, you know, pinch of institutional and social change, beautiful, intellectual analysis of nothing, intellectual, I mean sockal and institutional change. Just this little bit, you know where it got us? Investigations by our let's say quote congressmen, the same congressmen who done screwed up ABA, NBA, all that. Before he started working on the ABA he was working on us. You know that one, the one for Hardees hamburger man. CHUCK, he was one. The one that can't talk, EVERETT somebody, the old one, you know. GALIFIANAKIS, you know, the champion of minority rights. You know all these guys, you know, got into an investigation because we asked for a little basic reform. That happens.

A lot of our people were arrested. People are still being arrested. Like for example, Brother JIM LEE was arrested a couple of weeks ago for carrying a machine gun. Like the white

folks say you can't have no gun that carries 31 bullets. So they said JIM had a gun with 31 bullets. And obviously you stop everybody in Sanford to check to see if they got 31 bullets, because don't no white folks carry no guns in Sanford. So you know, everybody don't carry 31 bullets. So they got Brother JIM, and he thought he was off, but dig this, the day after he got through like explaining to y'all what he was about, he went back and here's another one that says the undersigned, you know some of y'all have seen these, he can tell you all about these. This is a summons like to appear before the legal process. It says that JAMES LEE, that the undersigned J. W. CAMPBELL, fine, upstanding component, upon information and somebody told him, look man, you may not have the correct information so we better add belief, so they stuck a little thing up here and put belief, that he incited and urged about nine brothers and some other folks to engage in a riot, and as a result of such inciting that a riot occurred, and that there was a clear and present danger of another riot. Now JIM LEE did all that. Amazing thing how one man, how one man can walk into a town and incite a riot. You know, like you say all right folks, let's riot. You know and everybody . . . So like they're going to arrest JIM on that.

They arrested LEVI SMALL down in Fayetteville. They arrested TOM WALLACE and Brother BRYANT up in New Bern. They just arrested BEN and CHAUCY and some other people up there in Durham the other night for talking back to the magistrate. No, you colored people ain't supposed to talk back to nobody like that. So they arrested them for that.

So, you know all this is going on. All we asked is for some little, dinky reforms. So we've been arrested. Some of our people have been beaten, you know, like I thought that he was going to do such and such, so we beat him, cause we got to maintain law and order. All of us know that. We can't operate without law and order. So that's happened.

There has been a general hysteria on the part of the general white population as reflected in things that they call newspapers, such as the Durham Morning Herald. There's been

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words of caution from Negroes, several very fine, upstanding Negroes, have been telling me, "Now you can't, now you just can't, like we can't do it like that." And they tell us they're in there somewhere, white folks who say "I was with you until," and "I would be with you so long as," and "I am with you but. . ." So you know we got those kind of white folks.

All of this has happened in the past three or four years just asking for some simple things like a decent house, you know, like food. You know, irrelevant things, food, clothing, shelter, stuff like that.

All right so, this has been what we've done in the past. Now what about the future? In my opinion, in my opinion, black people must begin to change our direction. That no longer is it really, does it really make any sense to seek inclusion into a system that by its very nature is going to oppress people. No longer does it make sense, no longer does it make sense to ask for participation in the decision making. The only thing that makes sense is for black people to seek ultimate and absolute control over our own lives and the intermediary step to achieve absolute control is the movement for control of organizations, institutions, agencies, land and everything else that exists in the black community and is supposed to be for black people.

Specifically, we must move to control schools. Now I think old Spero, Spiro, whatever he's being called these days, that the beauty of that cat is his stupidity. And so that when he gets, but you see he's honest. A stupid dude is basically an honest dude. And see, so when he gets up and starts talking man, he's telling y'all how he really feels. See, NIXON is too slick for that. See, they haven't had enough speech classes for Spiro yet. So that you know, when he gets up and runs his thing, he's running his real thing. And what he said was, "We fought integration but we ain't for making it happen." Now, you know, that was a very good statement. But like I agree with him because I ain't for it happening either. Because I think that's moving in the wrong direction and I think the problem is can you control your educational process.

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So that control of schools becomes important. The control of housing authorities becomes important. The control of the system of justice in the black community becomes important. I'm getting tired of black people like a cat wants to fight his wife and they fight. And white folks come and holler, y'all can't do that and we got to be down there and let white folks decide for us our whole system of justice in the black community.

So that I think that we have to seek our power to control our system of justice, our economics, so that we can, so that we can definitely change number one, the philosophy of these organizations; number two the priorities of these organizations; number three the methodology of these organizations. And without power to control you can never change the basic philosophical thing upon which these things operate.

So that, it is very clear today and we're going to be short so that we can deal with questions, very clear today that black people got to have a black agenda. And the black agenda got to be made up by black people, got to be for black people, with black people, and of black people, and has got to be done now. And it is clear today that we can no longer continue to be good niggers. We can't keep on being good niggers, good tar heel niggers, good any kind of niggers. That is if we are going to assume control of our lives, then we got to quit making up grievance lists and issue manifestos. Got to quit talking about white folks, "Will you give us please," "Would y'all find it in your hearts to do this for us," and what we're going to have to say is we're getting ready to do this, y'all, like they said down in Sanford that we're going ahead and do this. We ain't like asking y'all can we do this. We're getting ready to do this.

Now you see that's the way to move because when you get ready to do it, then you got to do it, and when you get ready to do it and do it, then you got to deal with what's going to happen when you do it. And that's what we got to be about. We can't be hung up on "should we go this way," or "should we go that way," "should we carry this," "should we carry that," "should we hip this and hip that." We just got to decide that this is what we want and

we're going to go get that. And we're getting ready to do that ourselves and then y'all going to have to deal with us, and we're going to have to deal with you, based upon that reality.

So that North Carolina is like the rest of the country. There's going to have to be some changes without apology. There's going to have to be some real moves toward absolute control of black people's lives. And what that means, as CHUCK really didn't, he you know, he alluded to it, what that means is that people on the campus and off the campus are going to have to make some very, very hip and crucial decisions. For example, all black students who view their participation on black campuses, white campuses I mean, as being a permanent thing, you got to ask yourselves some serious questions, about how black you are. You got to ask yourself a very serious question about how black you really are. The moment we begin to institutionalize black studies program, you got to ask yourself some serious questions as to what you're all about. The moment we begin to institutionalize Malcolm X Liberation University then we got to ask ourselves some very serious questions as to what we're all about. Because the moment we begin to move for permanency, for permanency instead of moving for what we need right now, is the moment that we lose any hope of maintaining, developing, or continuing any kind of relevant revolution that will meet the basic needs of black people.

Thank you.

(The following comments were made by an unidentified male.)

First of all, I'd like to say that there are two things that black people in the State of North Carolina have found out in the last few years. Number one is that we can think and number two is that most of you don't think.

• • Now, on this point, the group here in Chapel Hill for the last few years has been evaluating our so-called honor system, our so-called education. As Brother HOWARD has said earlier, we begin to see that when we follow the honor code, the honor of you know, soph building, the honor of the Chancellor's Office, there is no honor. We see that.

We're tired of running around as one brother on the city council to make it look like, oh, we're liberal. You have power. You have one man. There are several of you and one of us. That makes you great.

So what it basically comes down to is this. We tried everything you wanted us to do. We've done everything you've asked us to do. We played games. We yo-yoed. We went back. We ran around. We go up and down. We've been nice and we've been kind. And there is just one thing to say. We're not taking any more _____ (obscene). That's it.

(The following comments were made by another unidentified male.)

Well, as Brother HOWARD said, if you got questions, I guess he and everybody else is going to throw in and ask some questions. And if you're really liberal, I tell you what you do, get yourself together and find who else wants to ask the same question, and ask it once so we can answer it like that. So, I mean, if you got to waste a question that you already know the answer to, don't ask. All right.

(The following comments were made by HOWARD FULLER.)

Like your question is a different level of something you're going to have to watch when you are in school. For example, there's going to be a significant number of you young black brothers at UNC with Afro talk, you know, run a fair decent revolutionary route. But there are going to be two areas that you're going to be shaky in. One is when you are in either your group of black people and you are accosted by your white friends. In an effort not to lose your white friends, you're going to come from a different thing, one.

Two, you're going to be trying to catch these white girls. Now, a very important issue, very hard for you to be a black militant during the day and an integrationist at night. And the same thing goes for the sisters who are going to go the other way.

Now, what I'm saying brother, is that the terms did not come out of the ground. They don't do that. They came from someplace, right? You know where they came from? UNC, NCCU, Elizabeth City, Fayetteville State, Howard, Atlanta U, Morehead, Morehouse, Belden, Bennett, Boone. You know, all over. So that one way you deal with that is to begin to deal with you. Because see, you are the potential of the time. You represent, your roommate and your roommate's roommate, represents the potential weak-kneed nigger who's going to continue to exploit black people.

Those of you who are here tonight, you represent that. So, you can begin to deal with it here. This is one place to deal with it. And ultimately, if you deal with it you're going to get out of here. But you can begin to deal with it here.

Now, the other way that we have to deal with it has to necessarily be restricted to our internal discussions. But I want you to know that you can begin to deal with some of it right here. And UNC, man, if you just got here, just wait, just wait.

(The following interview of CHUCK HOPKINS was conducted.)

Question: This is GEORGE _____ (unintelligible) for WCHL. I'm talking with Mr. CHUCK HOPKINS. CHUCK, in your opinion, what are the reasons that trouble erupted at A and T University and Dudley in Greensboro?

HOPKINS: Well, I'm not from Greensboro, first of all.

Question: Well, from what you read and from what you can evaluate in your own mind?

HOPKINS: I think it's really a lack of understanding of the officials over there, the people in power in Greensboro. Police, school administrators, and so forth. Understand that black people move to a point where, you know, that we struggle to do something then you mean to do it. And you know, if we don't get it at one point, then we just have to extend and intensify our struggle to another point. You know, the little thing at Dudley which spread and then mushroomed over at A and T, you know, exemplifies that.

Question: I see. At what level, you were talking about education, at what level of education do you think black studies should begin? In other words, at the university level, at the high school level, or at the grammar school level?

HOPKINS. Preschool. You know the little kindergarten . . .

Question: Kindergarten?

HOPKINS: I think they call it the formative years or something.

Question: I see. And finally what do you think the present . . . Why do you think the present history and sociology offered in universities are inadequate for black students?

HOPKINS: One thing is what they do is, you know, put black people in a fish bowl and you know, intellectualize the black experience. And I think, you know, in order for people to be

consistent, that's white education provides white students with the tools to, you know, meet the problems that they face in our society. Then the sociology calls on black people, you know, it should be about that. They shouldn't be intellectualizing but trying to offer some skills that black people can use at the grass-root level for black people out in the community where it is needed.

Question: MR. HOPKINS, thanks very much.

(The following are speeches by CLINT PINE, a UNC student and member of Carolina Summer Labor Project. Also MARTHA SMITH. She too is a member of the Summer Labor Project and a member of the Hospital Workers Union, local 1199, which has organized at the four Durham hospitals. The ACT staff member refused to be taped, ACT being a white community action organization in Durham. The following speech was made by CLINT PINE.)

As Dick has said, the ideas within the white student movement as it is called, shifted in the past few years from an idea of, you know, students aiding minority groups. This kind of thing, this kind of liberal, moralist bag, really trying to join what should become a movement of the majority of people in this country, you know, to realize their own oppression and deal with the problem from that perspective. As Dick also said, the liberals and lefts in America have drastically ignored the basic feeling among white workers.

Now, there are two ways to approach this failure and this problem. One of them is the community, the idea of community organization, which Dick is in in Durham. Other groups are and have been taking this kind of work and joined the Community Union in Chicago and other projects which were carried on in the earlier days of Students for a Democratic Society in the early 60's.

The second approach I imagine would be that of factory organizing. This involves getting people into really economic action through labor unions or other working class organizations which build their base around the point of production rather than all their people live in a community of this kind right here. Of course, one reason that the left has ignored the working class is that many of the established unions in America have a very bad reputation of selling out the struggle of the workers. Even though this is true, we believe that the potential for working class _____ (unintelligible) is very great, both in new unions which can be organized on somewhat different assumptions than old unions. Essentially this can be particularly easily done in non-unionized areas such as the South. It seems to me that it would be possible to, you know, build unions here starting from a non-union situation where a union could be created which would not be racist and would not be bureaucratic as some northern unions are. But the potential for change within existing union structures is also great when the rank and file can be organized to deal with this bureaucracy and sell-out policy in established unions.

Students now are trying to gain experience in contact with working people through programs such as ACT and also through taking part in factory experiences in the summer.

MARTHA, however, represented a group of students from this area who worked in Charlotte this past summer. I was working for a while in a friend's shop, and MARTHA was in _____ (unintelligible) North Carolina Foods. Later _____ she will relate some of her observations that she gained over the summer. I wanted to relate a few more general things first. The national SDS, there was a lot of publicity in magazines like Time and Newsweek, and probably even TV Guide about SDS was going to come in and, you know, rack up all these factories and they were going to, you know, take over the factory like they took over the buildings at Columbia, and all this kind of thing. The program that we were in, I just want to tell you, the program that we were in was not connected with any national organization out of the SDS or any other national group. We had just an informal arrangement, you know, of people who were interested in this kind of learning process, learning and living together in Charlotte in a working situation.

It is, when we went down there, I imagine we, you know, had assumptions that we could really do some kind of political work over the period of a couple of months, that something really could be done. Because this was the first time I had ever been involved in anything like this and the same is true for several other people in the project. We thought, you know, we really could get some stuff together. But I mean, it was very valuable, but it was valuable to us as a personal learning experience and finding out about working conditions and about the way that companies operated, the way that workers regarded the places in which they work, the way they regarded the economic system, the way they interpret their whole lives, you know, and the way they regard their situation.

And of course, living close together in Charlotte, we learned to exchange experiences and compare information, and you know, this made the thing a collective experience for us as well as an individual learning experience. And it was, we found it to be a very valuable thing.

So, MARTHA, now will relate some of her observations about her job to us.

(The following speech was made by MARTHA SMITH.)

Well I found it very, very exciting. Well, I'll just tell you a little bit about the place where I worked. It was a sandwich factory, where they make sandwiches and doughnuts and all of this kind of foods. And the conditions were very bad. We worked about 55 hours a week and that was less than people in the other departments. Most of them were women and I'll tell you a little bit later about how _____ (unintelligible) to get maximum production. Of course, all their supervisors were men, white men. And I'd say we were about 50-50 black-white.

Really, I'd do anything I can _____ (next few words unintelligible) observations of how something worked. And there were some really interesting things about the way they worked at this company in particular, and I'm sure most

companies work to keep the workers in hand and also get maximum performance from your workers like, well of course, everybody knew everybody very well. Not so much in our factory but in others where there are a lot of men and women working, see, on the same line or something, they'll work it out so there's this kind of competition thing between the men and the women, and so both will produce the maximum. The women try to produce more than the men, more equal to the men and the men try to make sure that they don't.

And in my company they had a real good thing worked out. First of all it was very informal. You were supposed to be at work at five and you couldn't clock in until everyone was there. So it worked out real well. If someone was late . . . (rest unintelligible). And if someone was left out then that meant that everyone else had to work harder because we worked until we got through.

And I think it worked out real well. And it kept the _____ (unintelligible) directed at the people who had ordered sandwiches. (Rest of paragraph unintelligible).

And also the _____ (unintelligible) worked out real well. The company was there to protect you and we're going to have you around, and we're really doing you a big favor by giving you this job. So you better behave. And in spite of the attitude, well the workers in my shop, I thought, were extremely not talking about politics or state. But conversations were _____ (unintelligible.) And then continuing with things that went on in the summer. The moon shot for one thing. It really made a mess _____ (unintelligible.) Some of them didn't believe that they had gone to the moon. (Next few words unintelligible.)

But the conversations told me, what would be discussed was only in the way it was relative to them. (Next few sentences unintelligible.) The different things that were going on and how it related to them. For instance, during the KENNEDY thing. First of all comments were made about how he was probably playing around. And then when the sentence came out was the real pitch because some of them had been in jail for less than this thing for a longer

period of time. One woman said her husband spent nine months in jail for drunk driving. And so these kind of thing related to them and they feel pretty strongly.

Now, a very interesting comment. We had a little lecture from the boss about how we had to scrape the pans because this was profit, and one woman said "Well it's not my profit and I don't give a damn whether it is a million or not." So you can see where money is going (rest unintelligible.)

And that's about all I have to say except that I think there is a misconception about the working class in that they don't realize the oppression and that they aren't worried about how things are going. They realize their oppression and the problem is their anger is misdirected. Men beat their wives. They don't realize the power they have or if they would get together and use this power, then I think a lot of changes would be made.

(The following comments were made by an unidentified individual.)

I guess the third thing we're going to deal with today was the struggle of workers locally. We had planned to have three representatives here but only two are here, FREDDIE PARKER, a former worker in the cafeteria here at UNC, and Mr. OLIVER HARVEY, the President of Local 77 at Duke University in Durham. These gentlemen are going to, you know, talk about their work and the struggles of the people they're working with.

(The following speech was made by FRANCIS PARKER.)

Thank you sir. I'm a former worker right here at the university and Mr. SMITH and Mr. BROOKS asked me to come over and relate to y'all just how conditions were over there, that's at Lenoir Hall, downstairs and other places. And conditions are pretty bad. Now, during the strike, I know after the strike, the biggest bag was this guy O'BRIEN and people like PULLMAN (phonetic) that make promises and things and never keep them. Like one promise he

made, and this was after SATTER (phonetic) came in. He said that everybody who was hired, you know, everybody who was working under the administration of SATTER would be hired back in September. And it has not been proven like that.

I know I tried to get my job back and Duke wouldn't let me have it back. And so like, I know in the _____ (unintelligible) right now, this thing was they had about 17 workers and now there are only 6. And 6 people going to _____ (unintelligible). So therefore, there are six people to work on the hot dog stand, the talker thing, and then the guy will sweep, the janitorial work, and everything. Six people, six people to do that when it used to be 17.

And that's another bad part about it. He said after the strike if they caught any of the employees talking to any of the black students, if they saw them talking to anybody with long hair, white, he said that man, you're going to be dismissed, that you were fired. So you have to watch who you are talking to. That's no O'BRIEN thing. He would definitely fire you if he saw you talking to _____ (unintelligible).

And so, another bad part was, this cat they got now, his name is YOUNG. I think he's the overall guy. He took O'BRIEN's place. And she just wrote me a note and told me that this dude is sort of like, you know, he does this thing behind the curtain. He sends this cat named HAWAYNE (phonetic) out to do all the dirty work, to fire people and tell them that you can't get a job because of this and that. You know he's behind the curtain. He comes out clean. And O'BRIEN, like in my opinion, was not a direct choice. Like in YOUNG is indirect. YOUNG will send HAWAYNE to do his thing, you know, and this cat YOUNG stays behind the curtain. He won't come out in the open and do his thing.

And so in the demands that were presented by the employees, they wanted a black manager to come out of the ranks of the employees. And this thing came up. They have one black manager, but he's been working I think about seven years. So, there is no black manager from the ranks of the employees and this was promised. This was definitely promised. And so all I can say, all these promises that _____ (unintelligible) or O'BRIEN or YOUNG and HAWAYNE and all

those people made when we were voting have not stuck to their promises. And nobody ever sees YOUNG. This guy, nobody ever sees him. He sends HAWAYNE to do all his dirty work.

And also, they have no job classification as of now, they have no job classification. If you are, way up until about May, all the employees were classified maybe as dishroom workers, even the cooks were classified as dishwashers. And then they were classified sometime I think, during the strike, I think maybe in April or May and they have no classification as of now.

Question: When they are not classified does this mean everyone is paid the same?

PARKER: Yes, it does, right. They get paid the same thing. Everybody except the cooks. If you worked on the sidelines, you know, and you pushed a broom, you made the same thing. And the bad part about that was people who have been working there 30 years, 30 years, when SATTER (phonetic) came in he got rid of them and put students working in their place. And then he said well you be back in September. And he told the biggest lie.

(The following is a continuation of comments from hospital and food workers and comments from CLINT PINE and MARTHA SMITH. The following speakers were unidentified.)

So I mean it's really, you know, I don't see any gains. As far as degradation of employees, I mean like that hasn't stopped at all. I think it gets worse.

And so I think that these people, these managers and things, need to be, you know, dealt with. Because _____ (unintelligible) to stand and beat employees because they are black. They say if you're black you aren't nothing, you're savage and why should I take my time to deal with you, you know. So I think these people should be really dealt with in that way.

Question: Is the union here now, the American Federation of State and County Municipal Employees?

Answer: No, not as I know of.

Question: It was my understanding that they had a man down here. I just wondered, you know, what you knew about that.

Answer: No, no. I don't know anything about that. That's about all I have to say.

Question: Do you think that what the university is doing is what they are trying to do is spread out the students and I would assume scatter the workers, the black workers. What they are trying to do is probably separate the students from the workers and divide them against fighting . . . (not entirely intelligible).

Answer: Yeah, I thought about that too, now. Like they are getting students and like divide the workers up and this will put no communication among them. Like we say why do we need to strike and stuff like this, you know. They are saying there is no need to strike, and stuff like this.

Question: You said the only real result from the _____ (unintelligible) thing last year was the raise to \$1.80, right?

Answer: No, I didn't say the only good thing, I said this was one of the things.

Question: Could you tell me what the other good things that came out of that?

Answer: Well, \$1.80

(The following comment was made by an unidentified male.)

We'll take more questions later on. Right now we'll hear from Mr. OLIVER HARVEY, from Local 77 at Duke.

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(The following speech was made by OLIVER HARVEY.)

Thank you. Well, as they said, I appreciate your inviting me here. And I stay in meetings so much, I'll only repeat this one time. I just came from one with the _____ (unintelligible). When I first came in I felt somewhat uncomfortable. I had met a few of the students (next few words unintelligible.) And I saw DICK LAMBERT and HARRY BOYD and became a little more comfortable. (Next few sentences unintelligible.)

I'd like to state here that you know what, what's his name? (Another voice answers "FREDDIE.") FREDDIE, what you are talking about. This would have to happen to us. You are somewhat in a better position to the extent that we were. Before we began we had to first in effect try to get this idea over to students. But that was very hard to do. As a matter of fact, they didn't get in on it until we began starting ourselves.

To make my point briefly, is that in the building I work now there is an elevator there. But I worked eleven years without giving nobody once an elevator. The building is five stories high and I had to walk the steps very quickly. And then I went to work in the building where I work now, and the elevator was broken down. And there was a dummy, and being spoiled by an elevator, I crawled up the dummy. But too lazy to walk up the steps. The next night I went to work, the elevator still would not run and I was told to use the dummy again tonight. And I went around to the dummy, and lo and behold, it was out of order. And I had to walk up the steps.

I want to tell you as I walked up those steps, something came to me. What about your fellow employees who work in the _____ (unintelligible) and still walk up steps? And I began to think that I was too concerned about myself and I decided that occasionally I would walk those steps. And finally, after I walked those steps I stopped. I became adjusted to this and prosperity.

So it is in the struggle that you're in. The main thing is getting the idea over to your fellow employees. And the most significant thing is when you start those too, that some nice things will be done for employees. If you will get them the decent things will be done.

One thing that's detrimental about this is that we're too easy to get whitewashed. You see, you get a black whitewashed you really got some trouble. We accomplished quite a few things at Duke University, but there are many more to be done. The same union, I believe you mentioned the same union, black history and union history. To many people the same union is one of the most massive words that exists, it is a mores massive thing than black power. But I may have to realize how much they gained and how rich they are from these union employees. One thing that _____ (unintelligible) I think that when unionization light was given.

I remember reading a book in the library at Duke University nine years ago about a white man in Kentucky named Joe Hale. He went to his boss and asked his boss for a \$2 raise. He had five children and his wife, and he kept insisting and his boss fired him. When his boss fired him his other fellow employees asked him what he had been fired for. And he said I asked my boss for a \$2 raise. I didn't ask him for a dollar for myself. I only asked for a dollar for my children and my wife. And his wife was expecting a baby, and he said he was asking for a dollar for that, for the baby they were expecting.

They said Joe, what can you do? What do you have in mind? He said let's organize and make a union. And he began to organize a labor union. The people organized with him and other people got fired. They put Joe Hale in jail. They put Joe Hale in jail, they carried him to court and sentenced him to die in the electric chair. The state, the municipal government in that city said that Joe was trying to overthrow that government. And when this occurred people began to write.

I want to say at this point that Joe Hale gave his life that the possibility that the union organization by all people could be organized. And I would like to recall, last year on the 4th of April, remember, that the same union we created, the State _____ (unintelligible) union, not only a committee or a state or a national union, but a federation. A man you may forget, _____ (next few words unintelligible), was Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, in Memphis, Tennessee, gave his life to protect workers and employees represented in this same union. (Not entirely intelligible.)

And I tell the people at Duke University, and I said to the people at the University at Chapel Hill, they should be trying to come in and try to help you organize. Any people should be proud to belong to an organization that the Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING gave his life for.

Another thing that is said, that is about people used ideas about their needs and how concerned you are. _____ (unintelligible) said this first. Working at Duke University, I talked to many students and I learned much in working at the university about when they get their training and their education from Duke, when you go out in the public segment what will your subjects mean? What are you going to do to help the people of the state?

Now, right in your classroom and around town are clean white schools and classrooms. I hear those professors teach these students that you should be proud that you are a student at Duke University. And this biggest university tells them what they can do with themselves and their families.

Not only does this exist at Duke University, an all white institution, but the same thing occurred in the power structure in all black institutions. Now, this to me is come to the point that if we rely on these people that have taught this kind of philosophy, we're still going to be degraded and we're still being _____ (unintelligible) by the system.

I think that the last two years that the students have taken an active part integrating black and white, you are criticized because what your views are. Self-experience has been a tremendous help in the past at Duke University. (Next few words unintelligible.) is if it had not been for the students who signed a petition, over 2,000 people, we 400 people could start out with 2,200 people, (rest unintelligible). It was stated to us by the _____ staff (rest unintelligible.) If you leave all our students alone then we can agree but see, I knew that was talk. You see, they want to keep the same system, the students in one respect for education, and forget about the people that are employed at Duke University.

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And from that, when we got their views over to the students and they saw the centralization of the situation at Duke University this is when they became involved. They're still involved. And they have meant much to us.

It matters not what your views are, whether you are hippie, yippie, or black power, it doesn't matter to me, but if you're on my side I'm with you. I'm like the old story was about the black man who was having such a hard time once with his _____ (unintelligible) and he prayed to die so he could _____ (unintelligible). And you know people about 20 or 30 years ago, he was scared to be praying too much because he didn't know much about that, I mean about going to hell. So he told this black man, no use in your going praying to go to heaven because there aren't any niggers in heaven. God is not going to have you up there.

And this disturbed him more and he sure enough prayed. And he took his life, finally died and went to heaven. And it is true, when he got there, there wasn't a black man there. So Saint Peter gave him his wings and he flew around and the other white men looked at him. He said you better take it easy buddy, you'll get Saint Peter to take your wings away from you. He never said a thing, just kept flying, so glad to be there. So when he called for recess and he kept flying. Saint Peter took his wings. (rest unintelligible.)

And that's my point here is, it doesn't matter to me what your wings are, whether you're racist, liberal, militant, or what, if you're on my side, wade the devil with me, if you are going to stand up for five minutes, go get it done. The changes in labor.

Now, this is better, it's better to first, and people like the minority people whether black or white, is to have you own idea and knowledge of what you need. This I guess is one of the main reasons that we have got the forces that we have got at Duke University. And so the question comes up and you feel that way and investigate what you are in, it makes it hard for the person who is concerned about the job to be as much benefit to us as they could, as they could be. I advise you to find and search

and get all the information about the needs and write up your demands and give them to your needs and problems in one big lump and then draw your conclusion from there. This is what we're doing. The students don't know what you need, the students at Duke University didn't know until we gave it to them.

I want to give you an idea of some of the things you can accomplish (rest unintelligible). You have a nineteen-section agreement here and we have got just about half of them. Now, the major thing we haven't got. We've been stalling on the major thing because this is the way we had to do to get to the major thing. And it took powerful work at Duke University before we gave them this, they had to respond to some type of crisis. Now, we'll give the employees at UNC this one thing, that when they start out you move quicker than we did at Duke University. So whether you know it or not, if you keep this thing going you really can get it by the tail and get the people organized. It took us three years to come to the point actually that we came up to last year, and this is when you began to get things done.

Here are some of the things that we accomplished. First, I'll mention this thing called _____ (unintelligible) which doesn't mean very much. (Next sentence unintelligible). But then they went from five holidays to nine holidays a year. They went from two weeks vacation to four weeks vacation according to the length of time they had been in service at the university. Any person who completed a year's time at Duke University gets two weeks vacation. Before our organization began to move, you only got two weeks if you had been there 100 years, but now you get two weeks after one year, after four years you get three weeks, after nine years you get four weeks vacation.

Now, we also got _____ (unintelligible) and hospital insurance. Now, before our organization started, we didn't have any type of fringe benefits. We didn't have any hospitalization, any type of group life insurance at all. We got that. Both we got hospitalization, we got group life insurance. This is 60 cents on the dollar. They got this insurance only to the thousand that you get two thousand and two thousand off, three thousand on you, you get three thousand (rest unintelligible).

We got overtime pay. Not with 40 hours a week, but if you don't make but 30 hours a week and if you make over 8 hours a day, you get time and a half for that eight hours that day you worked, time and a half for your work that day. No clause that you work 40 hours before your time and a half can be figured. Also, we got time and a half for particular holidays.

We got leave before we didn't have anything for _____ (unintelligible) leave. We got _____ (unintelligible) leave now that covers mother, father, husband, wife, son, daughter, and all the in-laws. This is three to five days.

We have maternity leave, which is for black people will have to work almost the full nine months before they could leave. We cut that down to leave at seven months. And we have it so that they can come back in time to be spent up to six months.

Also, we have six classifications, job descriptions. What your classification is, you get paid for that classification.

We have the grievance declarations and mainly, what we have is a voice, I said a voice, that's we have a voice to go to any part of the university no matter where you work, to protect and pursue the grievance or complaint of our employees.

We have a department and we have two personnel offices there. You can be in one department and go and pursue a complaint or grievance of any employee, which we had not had that before, which it took us three years and a strike to get that.

We also have free representation in our union. And this is where we get ready to carry into the office, we can carry any person in there to represent us that we want. Any type, in case we need professional _____ (unintelligible.) It doesn't care if it's _____ (unintelligible) or STOKELY CARMICHAEL, or anyone. And you know it is important for them to get anybody.

So I think this is the main office, first in making up your demands, make a demand for free representation, voice in all decision-making, and pick every aspect of the institution and list

on all applications in this institution that not only can you speak with your employer in the department you work, but through the university.

Now, there are some other things that I'm going to mention to you that we are going to work on. Now, we got this on the table. One of the main things is something that you keep no matter how long you work with them, and that's seniority. Now, we got to be very careful about seniority. We have taken out _____ (unintelligible) because seniority at Duke University can be instrumental and can be detrimental. In numerous departments it is needed at the university. In the medical center alone they have 26 different departments. They have 18 departments throughout the _____ (unintelligible) university. When you go to see _____ (unintelligible) you can demand seniority. (next few words unintelligible.) Seniority within or seniority throughout. When I say seniority within, seniority would be more beneficial within the department that you work. If that's true then when the job breaks come, there is a little problem at the university, it may not be on a promotion, but it may be a more increase in pay within the department that you work in, you ought to get that job. But you only got seniority within, then you are not eligible to go out of that department into another department to get this job.

Now seniority throughout, then you will be eligible to be promoted to be transferred from that department to any department in the university or the institution in which you work.

Now, you can ask some questions. If I can I'll give you some information today. (next sentence unintelligible.) This has to be agreed upon with the fellow employees and especially your white employees. Now, no one wants to take a position that will offend or be detrimental to a fellow employee. So this is very significant that we at Duke University declare what we want by all our fellow employees.

I'm going to stop here. I said that I am hoping that you and people that are really concerned about these situations (next few words unintelligible). I want to state to you

frankly, we need these people as our students (rest unintelligible). Students that are, if they can gain influence as many of your friends as you can. I'm quite sure we don't have the _____ (unintelligible) at UNC we have at Duke University because you don't have _____ (unintelligible). So, now don't forget the voice they got now. You need that. You need to tell people what it means to you and to them, that if they use their voice they're on. And one thing you've got here and at Duke University I don't know if they have all department (rest unintelligible). Because the only thing we have conquered at Duke is the power structure, a 36-man trustee board. They don't care anything about white people; black people, people, period. For their own community's sake is what controls them. Now the most problems we have at Duke University is getting our people to stop being so _____ (unintelligible) and so complacent and stop being so easy to be whitewashed.

Here in this institution we've got the instructor, we've got the lower level supervisors, we got their superiors, the administrative guys, we got 100 men on the trustee board and then you got _____ (unintelligible) legislation you got to have. So you see, you got to get back that's harder to move aside. Then you must think about this big law that's in North Carolina that stated the law of North Carolina. We don't talk to any investigators, that's against our state rights, our government rights.

Now you get your Gardner Law (phonetic), because if you don't get your Gardner law, you never get the 1964 Supreme Court decision, you never would have had the 1964 civil rights bill. That's the best thing you ever had because for the first time you ever had a bill passed. So if you regard this law of North Carolina, I guess you'd know it had been through two men in the state. There was a new resolution passed in Charlotte that now in Charlotte _____ (unintelligible) are now expecting a union of organization. It happened in the right place, the biggest city in the State of North Carolina. If that resolution can be passed in Charlotte, it can be done in Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Durham, Raleigh, and Chapel Hill, but it's going to take people to get it done.

These are most of the things I can think of to tell you now. Thank you very much and I'll be glad to come back to you again if you think I can be of any source of help to you and I would like to leave a copy of this here for people who are concerned. It can give you some views and ideas of how to draw up your proposal. Now, I want to tell you this, we're drawing up a new contract because there are some things in this one that we don't agree on. Like the _____ (unintelligible). Strike this out, it will be against you. So you can revise it into a framework.

(The following are speeches by BILL FESPERMAN and BOBBY LEE. BILL FESPERMAN is field secretary of the Young Patriots. BOBBY LEE is field secretary of the Illinois Black Panther Party.)

We been in Washington, D. C., the head of the octopus, the bud-sucker, and we gave Washington, D. C., the head of the monster, a toothache. We been in New York City in Harlem. We went to black Harlem and Spanish Harlem. You know in New York City, uptown New York is Harlem. But in Chicago, uptown Chicago is Hillbilly Harlem, is white Harlem. Because we say there's two kinds of white people. There are honkeys and there are hillbillies. And hillbillies are not the white people who own Remington Arms and DuPont, and they're not the Kennedys, the Rockefellers, they're the oppressed people. They're the people down in the valley, you see.

We say a revolutionary is a person who comes down off the mountaintop into the valley. A lot of times you might have speakers here and you ask them what revolution means, and they won't answer you because they're not sure. But they got the words but they haven't got the practice to go with it.

A revolutionary is a man that comes from the mountaintop a cat who's got everything he needs in his grasp. He might be black, he might be a white nigger, might be an Indian, might be a middle-class, but he's got it in his grasp. Then he comes down into the valley and why does he come down there? He has to. Because this pig university here, you know what it does? This pig university will take a cat from a little town in North Carolina, take a cat whose mother and father have worked all their lives in the mill, a cat who understands what oppression is and who the oppressor is, and this university will turn him into an oppressor. This university will send him back home to oppress his mama and his daddy. That's a pig, that's a pig.

A revolutionary is a cat who sees what's happening and he comes down into the valley to be with the people. If he's black he comes down in the Harlems all over the United States. If he's red, he comes down in the reservations. If he's brown

he comes down into the brown colonies. And if he's white, he comes down to places like Uptown Chicago, Oregon Hill in Richmond, Virginia, Tremont in Cleveland, Ohio. Because at uptown you got something going. You know, on the South side and West side of Chicago are oppressed blacks, but did you know brothers and sisters, on the North side are oppressed whites getting their ass beat every day by honkey cops? Beaten, shot at, shot, robbed, jailed. Half the jails, most of the jails in this country have two kinds of people in them. Blacks and hillbillies. You check out Folsom Prison and San Quentin. Check them out. Check out what Johnny Cash says to them, why he goes there.

We say it's a class struggle. We say it's a class struggle because no more is it only a racial struggle. As long as we continue to say it is a race struggle, the man's got us. He's got us. Because that can work two ways. One way is that it builds capitalism. NIXON's program of black capitalism. And the second thing is that it fosters a race war. Now we get into the gateway of the South, Richmond, Virginia, and the reason we're so tired is because we had to run from them simple fools that work for J. Edgar Whoever, Super-Fit HOOVER.

Every minute we was in Richmond, Virginia, they were on our ass. They're here tonight, you know that. There's nowhere we go where the pigs don't show up. It's not because we're screaming racism either, dig, it is because we're screaming and shouting solidarity. We're for socialism and solidarity against capitalism and racism.

And here we are all of us out here paying their taxes to run our asses down and put us in jail. And we come down South trying to deal with racism and them son-of-a-bitches want to put us in jail. They want to put us in jail and they will put us in jail. Because the Vanguard Party knows that the first wave of revolution is wiped out, and when Brother LEE gets up to rap, he'll tell you some things that are fact about what's happened in the Black Panther Party.

I can tell you some things that happened to the Young Patriots since they become a political organization, allied themselves with the Black Panther Party and with the Young Lords,

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a Puerto Rican group. We got some special things to say to white people and that's that brothers and sisters, it's about time that we decided who we identify with in this country. That we done been messed around so long and on television that you got white kids running around here, man, that think they're superman. You know, that's right. They relate to superman. They think bullets are going to bounce off their chests if somebody fires down on them. And then you got a lot of white women today, members of the Lois Lane Liberation Front, who think that because they took off their brassiere they're free. See? There goes one now.

But we say, I say that just because I don't wear any underdrawers that don't make me a free man, because we understand revolutionary struggles across the world what it means to be a free man and a free woman. And on this trip we've understood it because we've had to stick together. It means that you are able to stand together arm in arm to bear arms, to do what must be done, to do something for God's sake, instead of just running your mouth about your liberation. It's a contradiction for men to get together and hold a conference on liberation, and it's a contradiction for women to get together and talk about their liberation. That's a contradiction because liberation seeks out no sex and no color.

So I say we're not identifying with superman and Lois Lane because they're, I don't take superman as a mark of my manhood because that cat never even went to bed with Lois Lane. And she didn't do too good either. And behind that, I don't dig Batman too much either. I don't dig Batman too much running around with that little kid.

But you got a lot of white people, all them pigs in that city of Chicago, that think they're Matt Dillon. That's right. And they think Chicago is Dodge City. And they march down the streets up there, just daring people to draw. And for years people hadn't been able to draw. But you know what a revolutionary vanguard is? A revolutionary vanguard is when a pig comes down and says draw, you're able to draw on him. See? That's what you're able to do. That's what revolution is. Revolution is armed struggle. It is armed struggle. It's not a dinner party.

You get cats who have been going through this school for four years. They'll study everything that MARX ever read, et, smoked, or shit and come out of here thinking MARX was just another cat who wrote a couple of books. You even have professors here who probably teach it that way. And I hope that next time you run into one of them you kick his ass. I hope you kick his ass, kick his ass for me, the Young Patriots, the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords. Because when we are getting our asses mowed down in the street and on stages like this, 31 Panthers have been killed this year, and everyone of them have been killed in situations like this. Some fool chuck who wants to be big stands up and starts firing. But we made it clear wherever we've been that, you know, we better be careful because wrath of the people get hold of his throat.

In Washington, D. C. 25 members of the Nazi Party ganged where we were talking. You know they were standing around bullying and shit, they thought that you know, they thought they would scare us off. So I told them, I said look here, if any of you people want to mess with us you might catch a bullet between your eyes. Now after all that three of them sissies came up afterwards crying, why should we say something like that, how could we say something like that? And talking peace and all this bullshit when they've already murdered millions of people. And then claim we're violent.

A revolutionary does not base his movement on violence. He bases it on love, that's right, love of the people. We don't travel around 400, 500, 600 miles leaving our families, leaving our homes, to come out to blow hot air to somebody all because we enjoy traveling or to tell people lies. Why in the hell would I want to come down here from Chicago and tell somebody a lie for? And have an FBI Agent following with a little old tape recorder so when he can get back to his office he can figure out just where he can snip the tape so he can send me to jail for crossing the state lines to incite a riot. We are inciting a riot all right in this country, we're inciting a riot of love among the people, among the people.

And the people are hip, man, let me tell you. You know this cat, who is he, Tricky No-Dick Nixon, who's a simple fool sitting up there in some classy place called White House. And you know, how in the hell did that simple fool ever get elected? Like ELDRIDGE CLEAVER said, that shows how low this country's done went. He's sitting up there and so we're walking around and we're going to people and saying to them, dig, we're coming down South and saying this. The South will rise again in a new way because all oppressed people, they're going to swim across the Potomac with blades in their teeth, crawl up on the bank, walk up to the White House door, bust it down, and run up to that simple fool and say, Hey Tricky Dic, how come you're sitting in the people's chair? That chair belongs to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, DEWEY NEWTON, and BOBBY SEAL. It belongs to the people, so look we got a cat outside with 100 gallons of red paint, 100 gallons of white paint, 100 gallons of brown paint, 100 gallons of black paint, and why don't you just get on out there and start painting this place. Because we're just about to turn it into a day care center for the people, and you can stay here, we'll give you a job cleaning the toilets. Yeah.

But we don't run around, brothers and sisters, white brothers and sisters in particular, I bet somewhere along the line white brothers and sisters here if you come from the South, either your parents or their parents or some of their relatives have been in the Klan. And I hope you still ain't propagating the madness. I hope you still ain't buying the lines that those dudes bought. See, we run around here, the Young Patriots, we use the Confederate flag as our symbol. That's because we snatched it away from the ruling class. It don't belong to them. It belongs to the people.

And that's what you've got to do white brother and sisters, is go right on home and snatch the damn flag out of the hands of your people, out of the hands of your old man and your mama or whoever it is. You got to go down to the capital in Atlanta, Georgia, take it down, and ram it up LESTER MADDOX's ass. That's what you got to do.

Read back in this country, check it out, here you are in the university. Check out what this country is. Check it out. Let racism become a disease. I'm talking to the white brothers

and sisters because I know what it's done, I know what it done to me. I know what it does to people every day. And we're saying that's got to end, it's got to stop and we're doing it. And a lot of cats off the street in Chicago, off the streets, hillbilly cats who are doing it. And you got cats laying back in universities with more degrees than a thermometer, can't walk across the street and chew bubblegum at the same time, and still racist. Now what kind of shit is that? What kind is it?

And then you got fuzz over yonder in Raleigh, a gang keeping that shit going. Man, in Chicago as small as we are, and a vanguard is always small, we've been able to give Hog Jaws DALEY the biggest case of political diarrhea he's ever had.

And that has to happen here in North Carolina. It has to happen everywhere in this country. And how do we do it? We can't come in see, and just blow at people and then we don't have nothing to leave behind. That's been done too long by people like, you know, the superman democratic society or STOKELY CARMICHAEL. People like that swing in, take all the people's money, swing back out and there's nothing left. We institute programs. We institute programs. Black Panther Party instituted a free breakfast for children program which feeds 40,000 kids in this country. And in Chicago we have a food program. And we're about to develop or about to open free health clinics. And you better believe, man, that Mayor DALEY is running around there trying to figure out what to do. Because every four years, man, he depended, that old precinct cap come around there, sling a chicken on somebody and he's going to go out and vote for him. And now old precinct cap comes around with that chicken, people are going to say why I've already got about, you know, 20 or 25 chickens this month from the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots, and the Young Lords. I don't need your damn chicken, so why don't you take it and stick it up your ass and get out of here.

Mayor DALEY, when we started our food programs, he stood up on television there and he said, Oink. What did you expect him to say? He said, I'm going to feed the hungry people of Chicago

if I can find them. So he sent his pigs searching out people's houses. Check out some of these Nazi movies sometime on television, man you'll find out what Chicago is like or what it is in black and poor white neighborhoods. Sent pigs out to search out people's houses to see if they had any food there. And that program didn't last but two weeks, and then DALEY and all of his lackeys and running dogs put the needs of the people in a bureaucratic crawler and shut the drawer on the needs of the people.

But our programs are still going. We're all considered criminals. We're considered criminals for feeding hungry people, providing health care, that's right, that's why we're criminals. That's why they're going to lock us away.

In Richmond, Virginia, we instituted food programs, free breakfast for children programs, in the black colony and in the white colony. That's how come all them pigs was running around trying to stop it. They didn't want to see that happen. They didn't want to see it happen.

So we relate to those programs. We relate to serving the needs of the people. And white brothers and sisters, let me tell you that if you want to make that ascent up to that mountain and you want to sit up on that mountain all your life, then you go ahead and do it. Because in the valley the masses of the people are greater than the few that sit on that mountaintop. And they're going to scale that mountain just like the people of Cuba did, just like the people of China did, and when they get to the top of that mountain, you know what's going to happen to you. You know what's going to happen to you.

If you're from the working class relate to the working class. Don't hate your parents. That's what's wrong with people like, groups like SDS right now. They hate their parents. They hate them. They hate them. I love my parents, the one I got. And most of the people in our organization love, love their parents. Because that's where we come from. How can I turn around and kick the woman in the stomach whose stomach I come out of? If they fucked up, so are we. And any of these SDS people man, they are trying to run up to Chicago and want Mayor DALEY to be their psychiatrist by whooping their ass for a couple of days.

If you're from the working class, relate to the working class. You know how many Southern people I met up North that lose their accent? I ran into about, I guess about ten of them, up in American University. They lose their accent. They're ashamed to say if they are from a little old town in the South. That's right, ashamed. Now how in the hell can somebody make you ashamed of what you are? If somebody does, you ought to go up and snatch out their teeth. If you're from the working class, relate to the working class.

If you're from the middle class, you got a hell of a job laying on you because you got to relate to the middle class. That's right, you got to do it. You got to do it. Because dig, see, you got weird shit in this country. You got, you're not going to expect somebody from Hillbilly Harlem to come up and try to relate to the middle class are you? Huh? The middle class? Are you going to expect . . . Well I then expect the middle class cats like Students for a Democratic Society to run on down and try to relate to the working class and they never relate to it in their whole life. If you come from a lawyer's family you better be about, understanding what it means to be a lawyer in a revolutionary time. Or to be a doctor, because in this country if you check it out at this university, you'll find out that we produce teachers that don't teach, doctors that hate their patients, chickens that don't lay eggs, judges or lawyers that is more interested in judgeships than they are justice.

So I say we better get on the case white brothers and sisters to relate to that route. And if this whole university here has to die, has to fall, relate to the people, relate to their blood into love of them, because the spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology. If the masses of the people ever vamped on this place it would be all over with and you know that.

All the guns in the hands of the reactionary whites, how come you're allowing that to happen, huh? Is that because you go through a little social concern stage, you going to lay back in to cut, white brothers and sisters? Don't ever let it happen.

All power belongs to the people and when we say it we mean it, and we put it into practice, Marxist-Leninist theory into practice. And I'm sure there's going to be some professor here tonight to ask us what the Marxist-Leninist theory is, and I guess we'll probably take him out and show him the people in the pool hall, and people in the factories, and we'll show him the programs in the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots and the Young Lords, and then he's going to come back to his office and he's going to buy him a pipe that's real bit and stuff it full of hash, and he's going to sit there and grow his hair long, take acid, and freak out.

For all you white brothers and sisters that consider yourselves to be members of the hippy colony, or hippy culture, let me tell you, you don't even need, you don't even do it now. It's too late. Man, in New York City and Chicago, man hippies, you're in if you are a hippy up there. You can make money, man. These cats are running around the streets claiming that political power comes from love beads or something like that. That's right, that's something they're claiming. And in Old Town, Chicago, man, if you're a hippy you can open up a head shop, you can be bringing some dough, you can really be bringing in some dough. And people lay back and still dying in the streets, suffering from hunger, lousy wages in factories as a whole, all that shit is still going down, see, still happening. So if you want to freak out, you freak out. But when you come down off your high, you know where you might find yourself because a person that tends to sleep through a revolution wakes up dead. That's right, that's right.

So my white brothers and sisters, we got a hell of a job ahead of us and in the last ten months, it has been a very short time really, we found that out from being all over this country and receiving pleas from white people who have never had any hope, who have either been freaked out in one direction or freaked out in another direction, all hiding under a sheet in between. Had no hope. And now there is hope.

We entered a struggle, white brothers and sisters, at a high political level without the organizing that goes with it, without the organizing that goes with it. Every city in this country where white people are oppressed are asking for

our help and we're going to be there. That's why we're down in here to check that out, listen to people and see what can we do. Can we build some programs for the people. I hope you go back to your community sometimes and relate and kick OEO in the ass. That's right. OEO, you know as well as I do objective fact that OEO is bullshit. It's as simple as that, and that the people themselves can do more. Look here at the director of OEO if you want to talk about contradictions, he comes from the richest congressional district in the world. It's in Chicago. It's up the street from where we live. A district that includes Kenilworth and Wilmett (phonetic) and Evanston, man, they got tombstones up there bigger than your crib, brother. That's how rich them people is. And this dude is coming out of there claiming, can he know anything about poor people? He can't even know nothing about working class people. He probably sleeps, you know, his wife probably sleeps over here and he probably sleeps way over here, in a bedroom about 100 feet away. And pays the servant to go in there and go to bed with her. That's how rich he is. Some weird people on Lakeshore Drive in Chicago.

If you ever, that's right, if you ever talk to some male prostitutes or some cats that are out pimping it up there, you'll find out. Some weird shit goes down in Carl Sandburg Village and you know, the Gold Coast. That's right.

So I'm going to quit blowing right now. I was tired, see. The only way that when we come on a situation we're always tired, see. From one to the other. But we depend on the spirit of the people to build us up. In Richmond, Virginia, we would be dead right now if it hadn't been for the people who surrounded us and protected us there because them FBI Agents were not on our ass. But we depend on the spirit of the people. We depend on it. And I'm sorry to say, maybe it's because the message is new, or it is bullshit to you, although me staking my life to me is not bullshit, feeding hungry people, building programs is not bullshit. All power belongs to the people. Red power to red people. Brown power to brown people. Yellow power to yellow people. Black power to black people. White power to white people. Political power to the vanguards. Bullshit power to the bullshitters who we will flush down the toilet of history. All power to the people.

Now I'd like to introduce, I'm through blowing. I'd like to introduce field secretary for the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, who is the only person from the central staff on the chapter in Illinois free to travel. The great revolutionary brother, we've been many places together and we're going to go to jail together, die together, or be exiled together, BOB LEE.

(The following speech was made by BOBBY LEE.)

The last ten months . . . well first I'll define field secretary. It's an organizer we call troubleshooter. And the majority of the cats who have gotten shot in the Black Panther Party are field secretaries. We have had 31 Panthers killed since January 18. We have 323 political prisoners in jails, local prisons, or whatever you want to call them. And I have counted numerous cats who have gone in exile to Cuba or Algiers, Africa, or Africa in general.

As far as I'm concerned now, I've reached the point where I'm just tired of talking to people, I really am. Because when you see these many cats ripped off, cats whose only crimes have been, and I'll correct preacherman, we fed 40,000 kids nationally in our free breakfast programs, and in Chicago we fed 4,000.

And when you see cats, 31 young brothers ripped off, by policemen or FBI agents or paid assassins and then when you try to come to a college campus and try to relate this to this thing, and you see people out in the audience themselves don't know where they are, don't even know where they are going. You see white people, man I've found out in the past ten months of traveling working in the white community and coming to the white college communities, I found that black people are not the ones that are confused. It's white people. It's white people.

And it's so evident when you, like sometimes you watch TV programs and they have programs where the man is walking down the street with his suit on and his tie, or the man by himself in

a boat or a ship, or the man sitting out on the beach, the poor white man trying to identify with that you know like, and can't get it is hell. I found that there is no such thing as togetherness among white people. Not at all. They're all individuals. They have no personalities at all. They have no personalities at all. It is just like a racist who don't even know why he's a racist. He's just been fed something. He was fed something in his institutions that you call a church, synagogues or cathedrals, institutions such as the University of North Carolina or his community. White people are really confused.

It's just like last night in Richmond, Virginia, as far as the black people were concerned, it took us about an hour to start a free breakfast for children program in Richmond. For white people nothing was there in that community, nothing because they feel that they have no need for these type things. They feel that they actually, some white folks actually feel that hell, he's going to be elected President. He's going to be another LINCOLN or something. Study and read by candlelight and maybe in the next ten years he may be the President of the United States. That thing about when you're white you're right. And we used to think that the system was destroying black people, but we found that it's white people who is really fucked around. White people are really confused, don't know where they're going, don't know what's happening because the system has set some sort of guideline for white people that has caused them to fight and struggle for a dream that is nothing. Fight for a suburban, a house out in suburbia, fight for a Ph.D., fight for the Brooks Brothers suit, fight for a wife who hopefully she comes from a background like the Rockefellers or the DuPonts. Marry a doctor or a lawyer. And it is white people who are really fucked around.

But then sometimes you can hear it on some brothers now, black people. Now I sit here at this college and talked with some brothers around here and actually this is the first college I ever came to where I saw it as a clear line between black people. And this is why the Black Panther Party has come down South because we know in fact that there are some niggers here down South that know that their descendants came from a slave ship, when in fact you do have some niggers here that think they actually came over here on the Mayflower. That's funny to me. It's funny. You have some niggers that actually think that they came here on the Mayflower.

Now we were hoping that when we got here, we heard you had 160 black students here. But I see that the Negro students are outside and the black students are here. And the honkeys are outside and the hillbillies are here and don't even really know that they are hillbillies. Oppressed white people are here. They want to find out what's going on. But it's very, very hard to talk to a college audience especially when you don't have that, you're not college oriented yourself. You have to have a certain kind of rhetoric that you must talk. You know, you must use, relate to, to college students, you know. And like I said, last night coming from Richmond, that it's kind of hard to bring rhetoric and rarity and bring them together for college students, Jack. Because they are so programmed in a way that when truth hits them, you have to open a book up for them, you know. You have to take them and see it, and something like that, and when in fact they do see it they don't believe it. Like most of you don't believe the film.

For the pigs in the audience, my name is BOBBY LEE, and you know me, and for those of you that don't know me, I'm field secretary for the Black Panther Party, Chicago Chapter. And I would like to say something, that I called Chicago a couple of days ago and I talked with FRED HAMPTON and FRED told me that BOBBY RUSH was sentenced to six months in Vandania (phonetic). There's a prison there. And when we started out together in Chicago, the party, there were ten of us, now there is only three of us. And I'm the only one free to leave and travel and this is why this trip is so urgent to us. Not to juice you for no bread, not to recruit no Panthers, just to purely try to build some communications. To talk about the national conspiracy to destroy the Black Panthers.

And it is a fact, one Panther, MUGLE brothers, that's dead. And it is fact, there are 323 Panthers in jail, and it is a fact you have a lot of brothers who left their wives and their children and their homes and gone to Cuba and Africa.

And these are things that we are trying to express, that we are not a racist organization. That in fact we do feed 40,000 kids nationally. That we are opening the second free health clinic in Chicago, the only kind, the only program of its kind in the nation. It is purely run by the people, non-profit, no OEO money at all. We have one in Kansas City.

While I was talking with BOBBY, BOBBY told me, FRED rather, FRED told me he talked to lawyers, and the lawyers told FRED to be sure and tell me to be cool about what I say, because the FBI Agents have been taping everything I've been saying, because they really want to get behind me because of this film. This film has gone out to 7,000 colleges. It was shown at the Alphati (phonetic) conference in Algeria to those African brothers. It was shown in Cuba. And it's a dynamite film. And FRED said be sure and cool it, man, because when you come back, man, they might indict you on the Rap Brown Law, interstate traveling to incite riots.

So all I have to say to that, if we have an FBI Agent here, fuck that, fuck that. Because I'm not going to let anyone tell me what I can do or what I can say, see? Because I read something in a Constitution somewhere where it said there is freedom of speech.

But that's another thing I found out. They write so many laws but they never tell the people about them until they are arrested. Now I don't have time to go out and do some studying to find out what I can say and what I can't say, or where I can go. So pig, fuck you.

And if you want to hear me say that I dig, or going to say something about the overthrow of the government, or violence, well I'll say this. I adhere violence, I adhere violence, because my whole life consists of violence in the black community. I don't know about you white folks. But I do know that what happened to the Jews in World War II ain't nothing what's been happening to black people in the last 400 years in America and in Africa. All of the colored people, Jack. So no honkey come tell me something about I can't say nothing about violence when you all use violence. And you talk about slavery, bombings of churches in Birmingham, Alabama, lynchings, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Korea, North Vietnam,

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genocide of American Indians, relocation of the Oriental people in World War II, don't you tell me that I can't say nothing about violence, nigger.

So I believe in that. I believe the only way you can take a gun from a fool is to kill him. I believe that the only way you can stop violence is through violence, and the only way you can stop a war is to declare war. I don't believe in picketing trying to stop a war in Vietnam. You declare war. You declare war.

Now preachersmen hit on racism. And it is a very real thing, and don't you think because tonight that we're saying that we are not racists, white people, that you can come on the West Side any time you feel like it in Chicago. Because racism still exists on the West Side, and don't you brothers feel that because the Patriots say they are not racists, which they're not, that all the people feel that way. You get off.

Because that's the core thing in this country. That's the thing that we're trying to fight every day. That's the thing that the Patriots is trying to fight every day. It's the thing that we're trying to relate to you that even in this racist institution you're attending right now, that when you see racism or you see anyone, if you have the guts, which I doubt many of you dudes have, if you have the guts you better speak out against it. Because what we're trying to do every day is heighten the contradiction in this country and we're trying to make the situation so hot for this country that either you people are going to be part of the problem or you're going to be part of the solution. That's right, that's right.

And I might use some curse words. I had a lady last night tell me that she didn't like mother-fucker, but I don't see nothing wrong with that word when you are from the ghetto. Because mother-fucker is a functional word to me, Jack. And I know if I call ADOLPH EICHMANN a dirty mother-fucker you wouldn't disagree with me. If I called those simple mother-fuckers who bombed that church at Birmingham and killed those children, you wouldn't, yes, some of

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you would. Some of you dug that. Some of you dug that when those kids got bombed. If I called HITLER a dirty mother-fucker, or Hirohito or Tojo, you'd dig that. So I'm saying anyone here don't like that word, before I start, come on up here right now. I'll deal with you first. Then I'll speak.

Because if they gave me a good education I'd be talking like you, so I'm doing the best I can with the education them simple mother-fuckers gave me. That's right, that's right. I'm doing the best I can with the education they gave me.

And when you work in the community, in the dirt and the filth of the ghetto like I do, like the Patriots do or the Young Lords do, that's all you hear. And when you see white ghettos and black ghettos, and like in New York Spanish ghettos, then the only thing that you'll say is that America is a dirty mother-fucker, a dirty mother-fucker. That's right.

When you read about 78 miners sealed down at the bottom of a mine, poor white cats, because some simple mother-fucker capitalist had them working in conditions that were just intolerable, Jack, he is a dirty mother-fucker. A dirty mother-fucker, Jack.

You have a cat like General HERSHEY who sends greetings to the brothers in the ghetto and has the audacity to endorse GEORGIE-BOY WALLACE, simple mother-fucker WALLACE, then that other mother-fucker, CURTIS LEMAY, white honkey mother-fucker, CURTIS LEMAY, strategic air guard or leader of the air force, has the audacity to run as his Vice-President is running flunky, dirty mother-fucker LEMAY, don't tell me not to use it. Because HERSHEY and LEMAY is some dirty mother-fuckers.

When brothers in the ghetto, Jack, go out and fight and they have the audacity to endorse that Fascist-pomp, simple mother-fucker WALLACE, who got poor white people confused, who is using poor, oppressed blue-collar and working class white people, Jack, got them confused. They don't know what to do now. They don't know where to go. And that other dirty mother-fucker MC CARTHY, who used these young brothers, he is a dirty mother-fucker. And HUMPHREY and NIXON who have the audacity to run on something called law and order, and where was law and order when all the

black people were getting lynched? Who spoke out then? Where is all the law and order when American Indians right now sitting on reservations get knocked off every day psychologically and physically?

And these God damn priests, who sprinkle holy water on an atom bomb, they're some dirty mother-fuckers too. Because you got priests, ministers, rabbis, who sit in these churches every Sunday and pray every day and if a black man or a hillbilly or someone outside his class steps on his front door, he won't let him in. You got cats like Father LAWLER (phonetic) in Chicago, who is racist as hell and wears a collar and a cross, makes statements that black people should be sent back to Africa, it's his mother-fucking ass that should be sent to Africa and given to the people in Mozambique, and they'll hang his ass.

You got lawyers and judges right here, lawyers that's only concerned about judgeships instead of justice. You got doctors that's concerned about personal wealth instead of people's health. These are dirty mother-fuckers. Think about that. Think about that.

So we didn't come too far. See, we've traveled too much and we know that time is running short on us. We was down here in a shoot-out last night. The only reason we weren't killed is that these people last night, was that the people rallied around us, and the people pulled out and left us alone. And I told these pigs not to follow us. Go out in the streets and follow some of these fools who call themselves policemen who are brutalizing people out on the streets. Do investigation on them. Do investigation on these cats like on the Chicago Police Department. Find some Ku Klux Klansmen on the Police Department.

We follow simple mother-fucker GEORGE WALLACE around. He's propagating all this racism around here. That's going to be responsible for a race war some day. And we're trying to counter WALLACE everywhere or every hill or valley he goes, we try to follow him. Follow him. Follow some of youniggers in here, some of you honkeys in here and some of you _____ (unintelligible) freaks in here talking about racism or talking about how to blow up some

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nigger's house, or how to blow up some black man's church, or how to kill some hillbilly, or how to kill some Indian, or how to kill some Oriental. Follow some of y'all in here. You got some dirty, racist mother-fuckers in here, see?

Do investigation on these pigs who shot 31 Panthers. Cats walking in their doors and get a bullet in the back. Or cats like LARRY ROBERSON, number 31 who was killed in Chicago two weeks ago, the day after he left, show three times in the streets. Nobody knows yet who shot him. Find them.

MANUEL RAMOS (phonetic), MANUEL RAMOS, a beautiful Puerto Rican brother, married just two weeks, he is 21 years old, married just two weeks, having a birthday party, and shot on his front porch by an off-duty pig. And he went to court and they called it, what, involuntary manslaughter. What did they give him? Follow people like that, see?

I don't know, man, I'm really tired of talking. It's getting to a point where the pressure is so hard that it's very hard for me to distinguish, man, who was good and who was bad, because I'm to the point where I've seen so many people rapped off, I just don't even care no more, man. And I'm coming out very subjective real thing about myself now, that I'm to the point, man, where I'm ready to get my gun and just go out in the middle of the streets and hold court. Because I feel, man, that I love so many people and so many of these brothers so much that everyone of them that have died, everyone of them that have gone to jail and left me, so the only thing I want now is just to die with them, man, because contradictions in this country, we raise them so high, when we have to feed 4,000 kids alone in Chicago and the Patriots have to do it, when you got mother-fuckers in Washington. They initiate OEO community programs, they initiate all kinds of programs and got people dying, man.

We were in New York, man, and I saw a lady with buckets, man, getting water out of fire hydrants. People were standing in line, 1969 brother, eight days ago, standing at a fire plug, man, getting water. New York City, you still have junk men who go down alleys shouting rags and iron. That shit was going on in the twentieth century, in the 1920's man.

You still have cats putting up little stands to sell groceries, man, to make money. You still have prostitution. You still have pimps. You still have the mafia, the simple, dirty mother-fuckers in the mafia, who bring that shit to our community.

And here you cats is, trying to get a college diploma stamped pig, stamped pig. Because you know, man, this system is dependent upon you to keep this system going. They're dependent on the technicians, scientists, doctors, lawyers, educators. Now I'm not saying, don't get me wrong, I'm not saying I haven't said drop out of school, I'm not saying that. But what I am saying, man, is don't be programmed, man. Don't just read a book, man, just read a book for the sake of reading a book, man, don't just read what that simple mother-fucker in your class gives you, and I call him a simple mother-fucker if he's a teacher that don't teach. That's right, if he's a teacher that don't teach, he ain't nothing. If he's a teacher that's not teaching you your true role in this present day society, if he's not an instructor who's trying to teach you to be concerned about your fellow man, Jack, and uplifting your fellow man, if he's not a teacher that's trying to help you fight racism, see, y'all call them what, Communists? Right, when a cat do that, when a cat speak out against the war, when a cat speak out against racism, see, that's what y'all call them, right? Far left or something like that, or the teacher upstairs is kooky or something, like that because he likes niggers or something, or he digs working class whites, see, or he thinks Ho Chi Minh is cool, because Ho Chi Minh loves his people, or he thinks Mao-Tse-Tung, you know, is cool because he loves his people. He mets the needs of his people the best way he can with the best signs that he can. Or that Che Guevara and Castro is cool, see, y'all call him crazy. See, and what happens is he gets fired. And the very fact that this institution tells you that this cat is a Communist, in essence what they're telling you is not to be concerned about yellow people or black people or these people. You should be concerned about keeping America going.

And I tell brothers and sisters quick that if you're here to make the atom bomb, make it. But be a good atom bomb maker. If you're going to be a doctor, be a good doctor. If you're

here to be a teacher, be a good teacher. Let's go back to the atom bomb since I'm in a political framework. If you're going to make an atom bomb, brother, give it to me. Give it to me, because I damn sure know what to do with it. That's right. I know what to do with it. I'm not going to take it over to Hanoi. I'm at the point where I'd just rather go on and drop it and let us all go together.

For God done took a look around. That was all in nature's plan. God don't endorse this shit that's going on down here. He really don't. I know he don't. I know he don't Jack. And I hope you white people ain't thinking he's white, because if he is white well you've seen what he did to people's color. And I hope you don't think he's black, because if he's black and been letting all this shit go on for 400 years, and I go up to Heaven, I'm going to blow his mother-fucking brains out. That's right. So I'm thinking that he must be Chinese or Indian or something. That's right. And he couldn't be Chinese then, or Japanese. He couldn't be a man of color, he couldn't be yellow because look at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. And he damn sure couldn't be Indian. Not with what happened to Indian people here.

Man, look, America is a walking contradiction. It's a walking contradiction, Jack. Well right out here in this hall, you can sit right here and it's a walking contradiction, Jack. You can tell by just sitting here, just being here by the very fact that you have nearly 6,000 students or more or less, yet you have only 160 black students, 160 black students, token students. Token.

Is there a hillbilly in the audience? I mean, a hillbilly. No hillbillies?

Is there a Puerto Rican here? Show me an American Indian. Right. One token Indian.

Show me a Japanese. One token Japanese. Damn.

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America, now we can hit on brothers, see, I been hitting white folks. Because I say things _____ (unintelligible), Jack. If you want to, what we call in the ghetto let the shit hit the fan, let's let it hit.

Now, I'm here also about some niggers in Charlotte, North Carolina, who call themselves Panthers. And they're not Panthers. And I got these niggers' names. I called Oakland today. And these niggers, I tell you what, now these niggers think they're getting away with murder. We know everyone of these niggers. We know their mama's name, their daddy's name. We know when they was born, how old they is, how they look. We know their sister's name if they have them. We know what school they went to, what elementary school they went to, when they was born.

Now we got some niggers in Charlotte, North Carolina and some niggers in Greensboro who's running around here propagating madness, propagating racism, calling themselves Panthers. And this first nigger mother-fucker name is GROVER BENNETT. The second mother-fucker name is BENJAMIN HAIRSTON. The other simple mother-fucker name is BEN CHAVIS.

(At this point the tape was changed, and the following is a continuation of the above speech.)

. . . of Greensboro nor down South period. Because they are out of order, Jack, when they come around talking racism, talking about all honkeys are racists. They're out of order. I know y'all know some of them. I know you know some of them. Some of them might be your friends. I'm sorry about that. Because we say you're either part of the problem or you're part of the solution and these niggers are part of the problem. These niggers have got to go, they've got to go. Yes, so they got to go, God damn it.

Okay, we'll take some questions now.

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(The following are the concluding comments made by BOBBY LEE in his speech of September 18, 1969.)

Some can't stand no female. But I found that most women bring this thing up, in fact women who ain't in no organization. They ain't in no organization, see. Now when you talk to a Panther or a Patriot or a Young Lord woman, these are women like MOLLY (phonetic) we travel, Jack, and she can deal, deal, deal, you know. That's the same way a Young Lord woman is, a Young Patriot woman is.

I'm talking about, I mean we know that, Jack, that society has a thing set up that oppresses women, that oppresses women. It has a certain role that women must play. But we know also that if we are talking about offering the man who got their boot on our neck, that if we free ourselves, then and I think about the women, then they are also going to be oppressed. They're going to have that same oppressive thing hanging over her.

So, we know we'll never be free until we can also alter psychological thing that oppresses women and she'll long fight it. And also that sort of life style that's set for women, we have to alter that also. But all the women bring this thing up ain't a member of nothing, nothing, ain't a member of no revolutionary organization. The Bread-Basket or something like that, or some urban progress center or historic center or something.

Okay, we say all power belongs to the people and we say white power belongs to white people and JOHN BROWN, the Young Patriots, brown power to Che Guevara and Castro and their people, yellow power to Ho Chi Minh and Mao, the National Liberation Front, and their people. Red power to Sitting Bull and Geronimo and their people. Black power to my people. Panther power to the Vanguard Party, whether the pigs of the power structure like it or not. Fuck if they don't like it. That's what we say.

(The following speech was made by BOBBY LEE.)

I'll take over where preacher left off now. My name is BOBBY LEE for those of you who don't know me. I'm field secretary for the Black Panther Party, the Chicago Chapter, and this is CRAIG WALTON (phonetic), the Minister of Defense of the Young Patriots, and CRAIG also spent four years in the Marine Corps and in Vietnam, and Preacherman who is field secretary for the Young Patriots organization, and national headquarters is in Chicago, and they're from the north side of Chicago. It's called uptown.

About 50 per cent of the people who live up there are from Appalachian, are southern whites who migrated from the South the same as my people did during the World War II. And the mines and factories and things closed down, and these people are without jobs. And we refer to uptown, like some people call Spanish Harlem, and like some people call black harlem, then we call uptown white harlem.

And the whole purpose of the trip on black panther's point of view was number one to build some communications, was to build some communications with, well with some of the universities who haven't had a chance to have exposure to the Black Panthers. To lay out our programs, let the people see the programs, to talk about what's happening in the country in general and in Chicago in particular.

Being that I'm the only one from the Chicago chapter who's free to leave and we're very certain now that that privilege will be taken away from me when I go back. The Patriots and Panthers being together, shows, you know, that the Black Panther Party is not a racist organization as most of the presses have been trying to portray that.

And we started out in Washington, D. C. and we spoke at American University, DuPont Circle, Malcolm X Park in Washington, D. C. We were on a couple of TV programs there and from Washington we went to New York City where the Patriots spoke in Harlem. We had a very warm reception there and we did a rally, like, for the New York Panthers.

We did a rally in New York, Harlem, where the Patriots were given a very warm reception. And we did a thing at the Diplomat Hotel in New York City for the Panther 21.

After New York City, we went to Richmond, Virginia, and we spoke at Virginia Junior College, the Free University, Richmond, Virginia, and also we worked in the communities there. We split up in Richmond, Virginia, where the Patriots went to a place called Argil Hills (phonetic), I think it is, sort of white working class community. And we went to a place called West End. There's a black community there, and we worked, after we left we set up a program for free breakfast for children program in Richmond, Virginia.

And we came here, the indication was in view you people invited us here to show American Revolution II, and we've shown it in the three states that we've been in. American Revolution II, as preacherman said, as these other fellows said, that it consists of working class whites and working class blacks, working together under a common cause. You know, _____ (unintelligible) in the community, police brutality, the housing, what the community needs.

Another aim we've been trying to work on going to universities is that we found that there's a big breakdown between so-called black students who go to school at the university, and the brothers out here in the streets. We find that the black students in the colleges don't relate to the brothers on the streets any more, to the cats on the corners. And we've tried to work with that, try to build some communications.

For instance, in Washington, D. C. Brothers, well this is like a field nigger and a house nigger mentality, and we try to avoid the gap there. And I think we did very good at Richmond, Virginia, and it was a failure here. And so last night, didn't too many black students turn out. I guess they were too busy standing up holding hands on the sidewalks or something like that.

What it boils down to is what we said last night, that the mentality is that there are some people who know they came over here on slave ships, and there are some niggers who think they came here on the Mayflower. And that's the difference right there.

But we found out this morning that the FBI Agents have accumulated enough evidence, or they're trying to accumulate enough evidence, to get us on the Rap Brown Law. If you are not familiar with the Rap Brown Law, it is out-of-state travel where you are supposed to incite riots and stuff like that. RAP BROWN is the only man who ever did that, where he left there were riots. But where we left the place, we usually left communication between people. We've also left breakfast programs and things like that and preacherman just got a report that the FBI can't hit home and in Chicago either, our speeches that we made . . . (rest of sentence unintelligible). So to show that they're doing a thing, you know, trying to pick out certain things in our speeches and stuff, where they can get us on interstate travel. So that's why we know that we're just almost like, you know, whenever we turn back to Chicago we're sure that both of us will probably be indicted, being that all the other Panthers in Chicago have been indicted. We have the Panther 16 who were indicted; we have the Panther 8. And just two days ago ROBBY RUSH, who is Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, he was sentenced to six months in _____ (unintelligible). Five Young Patriots were arrested in Dayton (phonetic), Tennessee. They were going to work in the white community. They were going to work in a white working class community in Dayton (phonetic), Tennessee, and set up programs for the people, food distribution, and try to set up a free health clinic and things like that. And they weren't in town thirty minutes until they was arrested.

So if you can, get an idea of what we're going through. The Black Panther Party has had 30, 31 Panthers rather, killed since January 18. And we have 323 political prisoners already in jail not counting those in exile like ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. And I'm thinking if you want to ask some questions . . . (rest unintelligible).

(The following is a question and answer session following the above speech by BOBBY LEE; answers were given by both BOBBY LEE and BILL FESPERMAN.)

(It is noted that most of the questions were not entirely intelligible.)

Question: Yeah, last night you said that, I don't remember the exact words, but that the only way to kill or only way to stop a man with a gun in his hand was _____ (unintelligible) to kill them.

BOBBY LEE: Who said that?

Question: The only way to stop any (next few words unintelligible) the only to take a gun is to kill them. Okay, right.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah. You don't disarm no man, well if you see a man with a gun that's going to, well like in essence, what I said and I'll say it over again, the only way to stop war is by declaring war. You don't stop war by picketting. You know, you won't go in front of the Viet Cong to picket.

Question: (First words unintelligible) the black rangers, rather, you're called the Panthers and the rangers. It seems to me it complicates things worse, like you're trying to take the gun away from the idiot and then that idiot's friends decide well I better _____ (unintelligible), you know, puts sort of in a gang warfare type of thing.

BILL FESPERMAN: No. Listen, listen, man. The questions you're asking right now are questions, see, I was going to say before I left there are precious few white revolutionaries in this country, precious few. There's not any in SDS. There's not any in places like Young Socialist Alliance. There ain't any in universities. There are none, period. When you hear about being white, you see the predicament that we're in, that nobody has done shit in the white communities. Nobody has done shit. OEO, people over in Durham, or OEO people in Richmond, Virginia, don't make any difference where it is, they haven't done anything, they haven't done anything. And what we found out, if you're going to be, if you're going to move in that direction, see the Young Patriots brought the white movement in this country to a high political level without the organizing that went with it. We

brought it to both those together, the organizing and the high political consciousness. Nobody else has done that organizing work. We got a lot of people running around with rhetoric, supposed to be high political rhetoric. And so where I go now, and I found out by being in oppressed white communities all over this country, is that if you start out and you relate to this Red Book. Now some guy last night was saying he walked around with the Essential Works of Mao in his pocket, you know, talking to people. I said why don't you run around with the essential practice of MAO, essential practice of MARX, see? If you start out, you start out with Chapter 11 in this book, the "mass line," because brother it says people and people alone are the motive force in making, the making of world history. The masses have boundless creative power. And you better believe it, they do.

As I said last night, you cats are going to the mountaintop, see, you're going to the mountaintop. And people ain't in the mountaintop. People are down in the valley, in coal mines of West Virginia, in cotton mills all over this state, in factories in oppressed communities, that's where the people are. And you see when they wipe out, when they wipe out the Young Patriots, white people ain't going to have nothing. And we found out by just, you know, being who we are and talking to people and building programs that white people didn't have shit. And that because white people didn't have shit there wasn't no sense in making alliances or coalitions with revolutionary blacks or revolutionary browns or anybody else, see. See, SDS never came to this point. This is why they talk about oppressed black and brown people and they never refer to oppressed white people because they've never been oppressed. So they're running around trying to figure out how to be oppressed.

Question: I just wanted to say something about the SDS. I realize what you said, the SDS has in the past made a lot of mistakes in the program. But after the recent split in SDS, I think the workers stood in alliance to give their motto as less talk, more action. Fight racism. They're going into the working communities and actually their program is to unite the working class by organizing in the community and the _____ (rest unintelligible.)

Question: The question is in the middle class, why in the middle class, or do you have to find somebody in the lower class _____ (rest unintelligible).

Question: That is the biggest single problem as far as I'm concerned that we have. Because the people on the street are harder to reach in the South for the simple reason that first the people on the street are fewer in number and second that they're in smaller areas. Like in Chicago it's pretty easy to find the street people _____ (unintelligible), the city crossroads where maybe 7, or 8, 9, 10, 15 million people in that area, you can find the street people. But like in the South, in the city I come from, 135,000 people, the poor are hard to find. Most of these people are _____ (rest unintelligible.)

BILL FESPERMAN: Well look here at Atlanta, Georgia a _____ (unintelligible) city in Atlanta, Georgia, Oregon Hill in Richmond. I bet if you checked out Knoxville, Tennessee, Charlotte, North Carolina, Nashville, Chattanooga, anywhere. See, I'm saying this is objective fact, man, that the people are there. And they have been ignored. There's been nobody there to love the people. There's only been somebody there to hate the people. You know, you hate values, or you hate people's life style, see, and you try to pull away from that. You know how many people in here are southerners, but I've seen this happen so many times, man, Southern people are the thing, see, that's similar to blacks. They try to pull out of that, you know, they don't want to be Southern. They don't want to talk like a Southerner. They don't want to act like a Southerner. They don't want to be called a hillbilly. They want to be on equal level. There is an imaginary great urban world outside of the South, see. And I say that's dangerous. I say that makes you sick, and if you ever ready WILLIAM STYRONS (phonetic) book about NAT TURNER, you see how sick it makes you. You see how sick it makes you, for it leads you to do the thinking like Cash done, he wrote the Mind of the South. He couldn't stand it man, he had to blow up, he had to rip his neck off on a rope. Check that out, and that happens over and over again.

The important thing I'm trying to push right now is that the South, the white communities have not been brought to a higher level of the struggle.

Question: (Unintelligible)

BILL FESPERMAN: Why do you want to know?

Question: Where I live, in eastern North Carolina, we have poor blacks and poor whites but I don't think that _____ (next few words unintelligible) because the poor whites look down on _____ (unintelligible) and I think that even if you make both groups, and they ever get together, it is going to be so much grudges and . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well see, you just said the thing and that's all we been talking about, is fighting this type of shit. You talk about fighting racism, setting up a structure program, that each community can identify with, then that's when you're talking about fighting racism. Yeah, see this is true. I mean call him captain, your daddy called him captain, and why your daddy let him call him captain, why you let your daddy stand around and let the man call him captain, you know, is racism. It points down to the most deep core thing in this country, is racism. And when a black dude hate a thie cat, and a white cat hate a black cat, this is the core thing in this country. It's something we're talking about setting up programs to stop them. The very idea of this trip, to set up some kind of constructive programs.

Question: If you went to my home you couldn't even probably get into my hometown and talk like that without being shot. And I really don't think it's good.

BOBBY LEE: Well see what I mean, you understand this, sister, I'm aware of that. You see, that's, we mean we draw a care line, a real care line of demarcation. Either/or, you know, I mean either/or. And you know, and when we set up programs if the democrats were trying to make discussions in here with people, and when we leave this room we know either/or. The same way when we work with the Patriots, you know, the coalition was formed

with the Patriots, you know, we all had constructive programs, our programs connected. We all fight racism, have fought racism ourselves, the Patriots fought racism _____ (unintelligible.) And you got to fight it. You sit here know all this shit going on, you know, and you're just as guilty as the rest of them.

Question: (Unintelligible)

BOBBY LEE: Look here, I'm from Texas, see?

Question: Yeah.

BOBBY LEE: And I don't have to go to a small town to know what racism is. I don't have to get to your hometown to know where racism is, America is racism. We sit in it right here. This is your small town.

Question: I mean, how are you going to help it if you don't go down to help them out?

BOBBY LEE: Don't tell me, because it's your job to go down there.

Question: I realize that.

BOBBY LEE: It's your job to go down there, and see. . .

Question: And see, I'm going to school so I can help them better, so I can learn.

BOBBY LEE: Learn about what?

Question: Well I figure, I'm a sociology major, and I want to get a degree so I can be qualified to go there and get a job.

BOBBY LEE: Do you have to have a degree to be qualified to speak out against racism?

Question: No, not to speak out against it, but to get a job so I can help these people . . .

BOBBY LEE: To help them, like . . .

Question: I've got a job in the government, a job with the Education Department.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah. Well do you have a question, man?

Question: Yeah, you spoke a minute ago about the way the people in the South feel, you know, about _____ (unintelligible), white people trying to deny the way they speak, and the way they live, and so on like that. Now, do you think if we could eliminate that in Southern whites, that that would also eliminate much of their feelings of racism at the same time?

BOBBY LEE: Well you see, you don't understand. This is a middle class orientated society, right? So when you are talking about a middle class orientated society, then you're talking about a blue-blood type thing, speak the middle class jargon. You know, I mean, do everything middle class. You know, that's like when a cat from down, and it's a class thing also, you can tell a middle class word when you see it. Just like a cat come from down South maybe he may have a PH.D. but he come up North, he will be looked down upon because of the way he speaks. And you break up, you bust the system, and you smash that system man, that class system, man, then you going, that alone will help, man, fight racism. (rest unintelligible).

Question: How do you smash the system without totally smashing the people?

BOBBY LEE: You don't smash the people, man. You know, the people are the ones that smash the system once a clear line is drawn, about what you want to do in your program, see? You are, you sound like, well you sound like, well what are you, a senior?

Question: A junior.

BOBBY LEE: A junior. Where are you from?

Question: Lake Forest.

BOBBY LEE: Lake Forest, what?

Question: Illinois, that's you know . . .

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, I know Lake Forest. My old lady's parents was about from Lake Forest. And see, I don't know brother, see you're asking the question. You're right from Illinois and you ought to know the shit that's going on down there, through Chicago down there.

Question: Yeah, I'm well aware of the shit that's going on down in Chicago.

BOBBY LEE: I don't think you are, man, you know, because if you . . .

Question: Well you know, I don't go down to Chicago, I don't witness the stuff like you know, like klans and all that sort of stuff in with the cops there. Because my point is, that like some people, if you're going to start throwing a line, what about the people in between?

BOBBY LEE: Look here. Yeah, but see, this is the thing. Everybody wants to talk about the people in between, man, and you know, like there ain't no more damn more in-betweens. See that's what's been wrong in the past. There's always been people who're saying that they're going to sit back and say I'm not going to get involved. But the very fact that they did say I'm not going to get involved, they're involved man. That's just like people sit down and watch all the shit that happened to the Jews in World War II. They were in between, but look what happened. Look what happened. That's like people sitting down and watching the bombing of the churches, man, in Birmingham, and all over this country, man, they were in between. Yeah, I mean, no one spoke out. You know what I mean. And I feel that they are in between they are _____ (unintelligible) in the road.

Question: I feel that the bombing of churches is really a bad thing, especially in Birmingham, where a few bombs, like you know, certain bombs in the middle-class churches, or like some . . .

BOBBY LEE: That never has happened. Ain't nobody said nothing about that. Unless you've said anything about it.

Question: Well I see what you mean by destroying the whole middle class . . .

BOBBY LEE: No, no, no. You destroy a system, man. You destroy a system, man, a political machine, man.

Question: Yeah, but how, violently?

BOBBY LEE: What is a revolution?

Question: Violently.

BOBBY LEE: All right, see you get hung up on violence. Your whole ancestors consisted of violence. Every blood running in you consists of violence. You inherit it. Every violent blood in white America or western culture, been put into people, man. So don't get hung up on us because we talking about violence.

Question: Yeah, I know that. But what you're saying now, it's what the God damn Nazis are saying, now . . .

BOBBY LEE: No, we are not saying that . . . Now how in the hell are you going to rank us with Nazis? How you gonna, how in the hell are you going to rank us with Nazis man? How? Wait, shut up man, wait, hold it one minute. How in the hell you going to rank us with Nazis, man? Because, see, now wait, wait, let me finish, man. Because see, I don't like that. And what will happen anyhow, I will knock your mother-fucker head off if you rank a Panther, a Young Patriot, with Nazis. You can't do that. Now, wait, wait, wait, wait. Panthers and Young Patriots, man, are revolutionaries, see what I mean? You can't rank us with

no fucking Nazis man. And you're talking about a right to revolution, go back on all of black people's history, man, what happened to him. Go back in all our history in 400 years what has happened to us, man, here. See what I mean? You better be glad, God damn it, that we're just now starting to do this, man. Because if we were violent people, there would have been a lot of dead honkeys here a long time ago and you better be glad that the Panthers are not racists. So the next thing, let me finish man, because see you said the wrong God damn thing. Wrong, I don't find it funny a bit, man, because this is what shit getting us killed. 31 Panthers dead already from mother-fuckers like you going around talking we're like Nazis.

Question: I didn't say that exactly . . .

BOBBY LEE: No, you ran, just don't say it at all. Just skip your vocabulary. Look here, no it isn't.

Question: Yes it is.

BOBBY LEE: Well talk about the U. S. Army, mother-fucker, what they're doing now. See, talk what your daddy and them did. You know what I mean, talk about that, see. Talk about Hiroshima and Nagasaki. See, talk about the genocide of American Indians on the reservations right now, see? See what I mean? Talk about ghettos, talk about police brutality in our communities, what's happening. See what I mean? Talk about Napalm.

Question: Okay, you made your point.

BOBBY LEE: I made my point.

Question: Okay, what I'm saying is like, you get a Nazi pamphlet and what does it say, it says, you know, whites awaken, the blacks are trying to strip you of, you know, your violent nature which is a part of your nature, you know, like the survival of the fittest and so on. I've got the pamphlet, I've just read from it . . .

BOBBY LEE: Do you believe that?

Question: What?

BOBBY LEE: Do you believe what that pamphlet says?

Question: No.

BOBBY LEE: Do you believe that?

Question: No . . . (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: I believe you do, I believe you do. I believe you're a racist mother-fucker. I believe, I know you're a racist mother-fucker if you come against rank up with the masses.

Question: But let me talk until I've made my point. My point is you're saying the same thing, you're saying that . . .

BOBBY LEE: We're not saying any such damn thing. We're not saying that, man. How in the hell did the Nazis, well listen, do the Nazis, listen, listen . . .

Question: Well you told (next few words unintelligible) . . . your whole history is based on violence . . .

BOBBY LEE: Listen, I said your history, your history, your history, with what you're people have done to my people.

Question: Right.

BOBBY LEE: And what you're people have been doing to white poor.

Question: . . . my people, what you do to anybody is violence, is the same as . . .

BOBBY LEE: I'm talking about the right to revolution. The right to rebel. I'm talking about the right to rebel. Nazis and white mother-fucking Nazis in this country ain't got no right to rebel. Because if they had the _____ (unintelligible) by themselves they would be doing better.

Question: I mean no one really has the right to rebel and like destroy and kill. But my point is that the Nazis are saying the same thing you are in a different form. They are saying, like become violent, become, recognize your own violent self, recognize that you are based on violence and that you must watch out or you will be stripped of this violence by some of the, you know, smooth-talking people. And that's what you're saying. That's what you just said. You just said our whole system is based on violence.

BOBBY LEE: Has anybody else got a question?

Question: You know there is a class problem (next few words unintelligible) than the lower class people getting ahead of them (next few words unintelligible). I would just like to say that I think . . . (unintelligible). They got the money, they get just a little bit of goods and they think . . . (unintelligible). I'd like to know what your ideas are on middle class going out and _____ (unintelligible) other middle-class people. How are they going to accomplish revolution on that level? Because I think it is going to be accomplished . . . (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well you see, like you know, like you're talking about middle-class people relating to middle-class people about what's happening in this country, you know. Like well let's go back and think about it and deal with middle-class people like this cat here. You know. Like, there is no individuality in middle-class people, you know, they just . . . they're the most confused people in the world. Spend \$700 or \$800, the majority of them, a month, going to see the shrinks. This is the most confused people in the world. Their mamas, their daddies, their grandparents, every fucking thing, see? And this country even, I mean this country just feeds their confusion, you know what I mean? Like they sit up and watch TV programs, you know what I mean, like the man is walking down the street with a suit on and an attache case, and going in a big brick building and boats and things, you know what I mean. Middle-class society says in order to be middle class you got to have this, and you got to have that. You got to have credentials, credit card. And so, therefore, in

order for this cat to get these things, he forgets about himself, see. And it just becomes, he's just mentally dead really, just a robot. Tears come fucked up, you know. Wife frigid as hell. You know what I mean, you know, husband drinking every day. Can't even go to sleep unless he drinks, can't even go to work unless he drinks. Won't even go home unless he's drunk. You know, so middle-class society, if anybody is more fucked up, it's them.

Just like this brother right here. So, like the thing you should do about it is heighten this kind of contradictions. See, that's no self, there's no self in middle-class people, Jack. You know, we found like, oppressed poor white people, they do know what's wrong with that. The only problem they have is racism, Jack. And once they know who the real enemy is, see, they can change Jack. But middle-class people will do like him, see. If he decides to make a change, he's going to have to snatch all his roots up, like turning his back on his mama, daddy, school, church, sister, brother, aunt, uncle. But for a person that's poor, a white person that's poor, it's not hard. Because his whole family is in that background. And when he makes a change he makes a change for them.

Questions: I just, well first of all, before somebody else starts yelling again, I want him to say something about what you said last night about racism and then I want to ask a couple of questions. All right, what I thought you said about racism last night, the way you guys have gotten together, you know, unity in the working party, I think that's a real great thing. And I think the way you said it was real good. And I wanted to ask a question about the feeding children. Well I was at the thing last night with a friend of mine who is in the Worker Student Alliance Conference in Boston, and we were talking about you feeding those kids, and we had a real big hassle over it. Because, you know, in "Time" or someplace they had this big article where they showed the Panthers feeding these kids and "Time" said well, this is a good thing, even before that. And what we had an argument over was that he said that the thing is so publicized that actually what it's doing is co-opting the struggle, that it's taking the edge off of it. And I told him that I thought that it was actually helping building a mass base organization.

BOBBY LEE: Right, see that . . .

Question: But see, what I wanted to know was that see you have resolved this thing and what I think our problem was, we hadn't had any experience and hadn't practiced. And what we want to know is how to just work to build a mass organization . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well see, the first thing about starting, the Patriots got their food, we have ours, and the Young Lords have theirs, is one of the most important things is meeting the people's basic needs. Like you can't _____ (unintelligible), nobody hungry man, know what I mean? You can't bring anyone to a political level when they're hungry. You know, it's just like the people in Hanoi. I mean, the first thing they said, man, is Ho Chi Minh fed them first, and they ate every day. And that's the only way you're going to bring them people to a political level man, meet their basic needs, man. Then after their basic needs are met, then, man, the poor orientation goes on, man. And it goes on the mass scale. And once in turn they reach a political level, they're able to orientate others. I mean they're able to become a part of the padre (phonetic). You know, and they're able to go out and form other padres and things like that.

BILL FESPERMAN: See, probably the difference, like, a lot of the way SDS used to operate, what you do is make poorer and poorer and poorer and poorer, and you know, make certain they get their heads beat more and more and more. Then they become revolutionaries see? That's using the people. And if some mother-fucker stands up and says we take the edge off the struggle because we institute programs to meet the needs of the people, I'd just like to knock his fucking head off, man. Because if we're taking the edge off the struggle, how come 31 Panthers have been killed, most of the Central Staff been put in jail or exiled, and why is the FBI running you down in this country. Why are they doing that? We're not taking the edge off the struggle, we're raising contradictions everywhere we go when we create those programs. We just left Richmond, Virginia, man, created food programs in the oppressed white community and the black community. And don't you know that brought the struggle to a higher level?

Question: Well what I'm saying is that if the system can't fight your food programs, then why do they have this thing in "Time" magazine that's saying we're all for this?

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BOBBY LEE: That's, well see, you know when MAO says a thing, man, but they're always trying to glorify the revolutionaries to pacify the people.

Question: Yeah.

BOBBY LEE: That's it, that's it. But we can't stop that. You know in the chapter in the Red Book, where it's saying that patriotism is heroism . . .

Question: Yeah, yeah.

BOBBY LEE: And how not to be fooled by the man's tricks.

Question. Right.

BOBBY LEE: He's always going to do that. He is always going to do that, man. He's always going to do that, Jack. You know, he's always. You see like it's always for us to always counter that, man. You know, it's always for us to counter that. It is always for us to purge ourselves, man, if we even feel like we get equal treatment. But you can't stop that, you can't stop that.

Question: But what you're saying is this thing is so important, that it's not worth taking the chance of having him placate the working class by saying well look, this is a good thing, we're all for it, you know? Is that what you're saying?

BOBBY LEE: He's going, he's going to try his best, man, see like one day you might hear "Time" right a bad article. I mean, like the coloring book, you know what I mean?

Question: Yeah.

BOBBY LEE: Okay. But when he sees that the people are really digging the breakfast program, then he is going to all of a sudden write something nice about it. You know what I mean. Therefore, the people will say, you know, the system is not bad, you know. They really like the Panthers too, you know.

Question: Yeah, yeah, that's what I'm saying.

BOBBY LEE: Well see, we can't. But see, we're always supposed to heighten that contradiction, man, that this is the way to glorify the revolutionary, yet they try to paint us all kinds of beautiful colors. Well the people say, well the system is really not that bad. Look at "Time" magazine, wrote a nice article about the Panthers, a very nice article. That's just like an article, man, that was written on me in Chicago sometime, man, two pages long, with BOBBY LEE, nice, tall, good-looking, lanky Black Panther, you know, went to Southern University, was a VISTA volunteer, you know, worked at the Handicapped Center for Retarded Children, worked at the Halfway House of Delinquent Youths, was a track star, sounds like a paragon of American youth. See what I mean? So then what the people will say, well, you know, then we go out and see that the press is being used as an instrument to destroy us, and then the people will say that, and they will say the system is really nice. They're really with the Panthers all the way. So then what we have to do is let the people know what they're doing. Look what they did to MALCOLM X. Get an example. See, when MALCOLM was coming through, I mean he was raising all kinds of hell and all kinds of bad write-ups. As soon as MALCOLM got killed, his books were on every shelf in the country. Many were saying nice things about him, how intellectual he is, man, to be a cat that went far as High School. And what the people said, you know, the system really liked MALCOLM. Everything MALCOLM said about the system was a lie. They really like him. (Next few words unintelligible) . . . all tricks.

Question: How about a question from the press about that. You have spoken in a lot of generalities about your revolution so far. What specifically do you have in mind?

BOBBY LEE: Programs?

Question: MMM HMMM, specifically?

BOBBY LEE: Programs right now, we have going now?

Question: MMM HMMM.

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BOBBY LEE: Right now that's functioning?

Question: Right now, and how do you hope these will implement your ends?

BOBBY LEE: Okay, well I answered that earlier, but I'll go over it again. All right now, the programs we have, I'll start with Chicago first. We have a food buying club in Chicago and this is for welfare mothers. This is where collectively we get the welfare mothers together and the reason we got them together is because the money they get once a month is not enough to buy food. See, that's the first thing. So they were given about \$5 or \$10 a week, and we had a long list of different groceries they could get, you know, and they would strike off what they wanted. And what we'd do is take all the money, go to the wholesale store, and buy Grade A, all Grade A, vegetables, meats, food, milk, and everything. On Fridays we would distribute them, you know. Now the Breakfast for Children Program, the Free Breakfast for Children Program, the Patriots have, the Lords have, the Panthers have, will collectively in Chicago, see, feed 4,000. See, 4,000 kids fed. And we put all our donations from places like _____ (unintelligible), A and T, national. _____ (unintelligible) gives a lot of stuff to help us. _____ (unintelligible) on Fridays, jello, meats, you know. And we feed these kids. Nationally we feed about 40,000 kids, nationally.

The next program we're opening up in Chicago is the free health clinic. And October 4 we'll speak at the doctor's conference in Cleveland, Ohio, asking for volunteers. Now there is one functioning in Kansas City right now, a free health clinic, see. And I hope that we just turned in another program for a free library that would be open in Chicago, it would be used as a model. Now the whole purpose of these programs is number one to heighten the contradictions. See, like when we set these programs up in certain alderman's wards and then a year ago when he was running to be alderman, and he used home base as poverty, what he would do for you, what he would do for you if you would vote him in, see, then once he gets in there's still poverty, what happened, the people see . . .

Question: Which alderman is that?

BOBBY LEE: Well, alderman of the Party III Ward in Chicago. But see, it's all over the country and wherever they have Black Panthers breakfast children program, wherever they have the Young Patriots program, it don't make no difference where the alderman is, the mayor still looks like an ass, or the governor looks like an ass, see? That's why the political machine is coming down on us. Because we heighten the contradictions. See, we heighten the contradictions for these governors, mayors, congressmen, and senators who learn about what I can do for you.

Question: But how is this going to implement (next few words unintelligible) your overall revolution?

BOBBY LEE: Okay, now, now, overall revolution. Once you, once you heighten the contradictions about the system, you know what I mean, about a capitalistic system, which is a blood sucker, you know what I mean. Well once you heighten the contradiction then naturally the people are going to want to move politically. They're not going to want to go the way they've gone down for the last 400 years or maybe as long as there has been oppression of whites in this country, oppression of blacks in this country. They're going to move toward a political level. And they themselves, see people think, see they themselves are going to be the ones who're going to create, you know, some sort of sign. You know, some sort of politics themselves. No, which will be an alternative to that which is oppressing them, see. And right now the only alternative of capitalism is socialism. And that's what your breakfast for children program will, your free breakfast for children programs are. That's what your food-buying clubs are.

Question: Are you embracing either one?

BOBBY LEE? Say what?

Question: Are you embracing either one, I mean . . .

BOBBY LEE: We embrace Socialism.

Question: How far?

BOBBY LEE: We read all the thoughts of MARX, LENIN, INGOLS (phonetic) MAO, CHE, CASTRO, _____ (unintelligible), anything ever written about socialism, we read it. But let me make you understand something now. See, in a ghetto or in Appalachia, honey, in the hills of Kentucky or the hills of Tennessee, the people who live in an oppressive environment or who live in a ghetto, have always lived in some form of primitive socialism, see. They've always lived in some form, or they've always been some kind of primitive Communists. In order to survive they've had to.

Question: When you can't survive by yourself, you get together with two or three other people and share what you've got instead of . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well this is the only way we've survived in the last two months traveling.

Question: I have one other question then. How do you know that this embracing socialism won't turn into, say, the Russian form of Communism?

BOBBY LEE: Well see, well see, this is something that most white people ask this thing. Well how do you know? This is something that you don't know, see. But this is the thing, what happened to Lenin and what happened to Russia, that Russia didn't have a continuous revolution. It stopped, see. This is the thing that is beautiful about China. They're having a continual revolution. Cuba is having a continual revolution, see? And this is something that we must see, by other people's mistakes. You must have a continuous revolution. This is what happened to this country. That the educational institutions should have had a continuous revolution. The churches should. They haven't. And this is the way you make sure they don't.

Question: Well, if it continues, what does it continue to?

BOBBY LEE: What do you mean, will it continue?

Question: After revolution continues past the Russian Communist stage, what does it continue to, another form of Utopia or what?

BOBBY LEE: There ain't no such thing as Utopian socialistic state. No, let's make that clear now. No, you're going to always have struggles, Jack. I would much rather live in a country that's going through all kind of struggles to make the country great. That's what's wrong with this country. There's no struggles here except a struggle for a few punks to get some money.

Question: I read somewhere that some government organization in California was starting a breakfast program for the school children, identical as a matter of fact to what the Panthers are doing.

BOBBY LEE: Right.

Question: Now, I don't know much about the economic level, but it seems that the government could use the money as a form of counter-insurgency to establish its own breakfast programs and its own free health clinics. Do you see this as a threat, and if the government does move ahead of you . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well, we wish like hell they would move and feed some of these kids around here, and open clinics. You know what I mean, but hell, they got the best medical system in this country right now and people ain't meeting their needs. It is just like they got the best money, you're talking about money, you know what I mean, we wish like hell they would hurry up and do it. But they're not.

Question: But if they do that, wouldn't that delay the revolution?

BOBBY LEE: They ain't going to do it.

Question: Well . . .

BOBBY LEE: That's just like annual income, you know.

Question: Look I mean, when they really get hard pressed they might have to be . . .

BOBBY LEE: No, when they get hard pressed, Jack, they're going to a Fascist system.

Question: When they get hard pressed . . .

BOBBY LEE: When they get hard pressed, they ain't going in no socialism, Jack. They're going to do what MUSSOLINI did.

Question: Well, they've been giving you all these . . .

Question: Wait a minute, man, you've seen pressure situations in this country. You've seen _____ (unintelligible) and you've seen Chicago and you have seen Washington, D. C. and Charlotte and Winston-Salem, North Carolina. You have seen Atlanta, Georgia. You know what they do when they get really hard-pressed. When they get really hard pressed, they say Hey, man, they're going to take our power away from us and they (next few words unintelligible) . . . have seen them give medicare and . . .

Question: Do you realize when medicare was instituted in the German states, medicare was effective or instituted in Germany in 1960. We're only a century behind time. Look, as far as these contradictions are concerned, we're better than a century behind. They've got a lie attached on to this, this is shit here. What they're giving the people is shit.

Question: I realize it's shit, but all you got to do is remind the people (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well you know they're not going to give it. That's like the poor people's march, man, that's for annual income. Man, you know, if they give people for annual income, you know what kind of country this would be? We'd have won already.

Question: That's a bunch of shit what they're giving . . .

BOBBY LEE: That's right. And we know this, man.

Question: And it's hard to convince people.

BOBBY LEE: But see, this is the thing about heightening the contradiction. That's just like man, decentralization of the police, man, community control of the police. You know fucking

well, man, that when we meet these policemen, you know, when we meet them on this campus, get up here and make so many commitments. But see, we can't worry about commandism. You know, MAO talked about commandism. We can't practice. We have to sit down and relate this thing, observation and participation, man. And let the people see for themselves. That's how to heighten contradictions. You set up these programs, man, and let them see. Some may not see it and some will. But you just can't do it, man. If you do that's not being honest. You have to deal democratically. Work with the people and heighten contradictions with them. Let them see it. And you know fucking well that this country ain't going to give nobody nothing, nothing.

Question: Yeah, but they're going to try to make it look like they are giving them something.

BOBBY LEE: Oh, yeah. But that's just like Chicago, man, like some of the cities, man, where people have been demonstrating about taking shotguns off the front of the dashboard. Well, what they've done they've taken the shotguns off the dashboard and put them in the trunk. And see the people don't see them any more and they say we've won the victory. But the shotguns are in the trunk now.

Question: How do you emphasize the fact that they are still in the trunk and people can't see them?

BOBBY LEE: Well, when the people talk about putting the trunks on, when people talk about taking them off, we'll pose that, we'll pose that. You know, and see, let them know it's in the trunk.

Question: People are going to know anyway.

BOBBY LEE: The people know it anyway. I mean it's still, man, still man, the people are going to know it, man. They're going to know it. Because them fools are going to get silly one day and get reactionary. The people will know it. They might go along three weeks without those shotguns out, but once something happens, man, just like it happened in Chicago on

53rd and Laurel (phonetic), all of them cats went to their trunks, Jack, and pulled out them .12 gauge Remington shotguns, vicious .12 gauge Remington shotguns.

Question: You know, the problems of blacks in this country are for the most part the problems of colonized people, right?

BOBBY LEE: Right.

Question: And given this _____ (unintelligible) that LENIN said, TROTSKY, MAO, and _____ (unintelligible), especially that incited liberation, national liberation, how can they build socialism within the United States (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Well see, we are not just talking about . . .

Question: Well that's in a strong nationalistic sense . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well see, like, yeah, we have already come to that stage of nationalism already.

Question: But the masses of the people haven't . . .

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but the masses of the, right, but the masses of the people haven't man. See, well see, but now we're at a stage, we got a revolutionary culture now. See, because if there is a large portion gone through this nationalistic stage, man, and I think I tend to disagree with you. That's a very rare dude you don't see the Afro on now. You know what I mean, all over the country. Well see now.

Question: But that's not nationalism.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well okay, yeah. But see now, you know, like you know, all your culture now has got to be a revolutionary culture now, and cut that other shit out. You know what I mean. Like JOHN COLTRAIN (phonetic), see, sang, and you see where he went. Yeah the music has changed. You see where JAMES BROWN is singing now. You know, revolutionary culture. Art and all this shit. And that way you're catching up with all the people that's been left out, man. I mean with the mass of the people left out. You hear then in their culture man, I mean like . . .

Question: Yeah, but like the masses of the people haven't got their psyches (phonetic) together yet.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well okay. But see, you can go right back . . .

Question: (Unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: But it goes right back, it goes right back to heightening the contradictions, man, it goes right back to that. But you got to have patience, you got to have patience with these people, man. White people, black people, brown people. And that goes right back to heightening the contradictions at all times, speak out at all times. And it goes right back to that Jack, it goes right back to that, man, heightening of contradictions. About the civil rights thing.

Question: Have you received any reaction from the people you named last night as being so-called Panthers in Greensboro and Charlotte?

BOBBY LEE: No, we talked with the reporters in Charlotte today and their names will be on the press tomorrow.

Question: I'm writing for a Charlotte newspaper. I've noticed that the Panthers, this group of people in Charlotte wanting a Panther charter, were refused.

BOBBY LEE: Say what?

Question: But I knew the people in Charlotte wanting a Panther charter were refused the charter. Why?

BOBBY LEE: Well, see number one they started off wrong. See, when they wanted a charter they had went to far with their shit already. You know what I mean. I mean, I mean, like the thing they were doing in Charlotte. They were Panthers before they wanted one. They were an organization before they wanted one. See, and that was wrong. And they have made so many mistakes with their, so many mistakes before they even called and wanted one, that they couldn't get one in Charlotte, now. They won't get one in Charlotte now, if they, you know. And I've got the names of all of them. See, and this come from national.

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Question: (Unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: All right, August 16, 1969, they have a shoot-out at the Chick-N-Ribs Restaurant. All right, they been shooting among black people there, extortion, having rallies.

Question: All in the name of the Black Panthers?

BOBBY LEE: All in the name of the Black Panther Party. They don't have no breakfast for children program there. They don't have no free health clinic program there. No food-buying club program there. They're not fighting racism there. They don't have no coalition with working class whites there, and they're not trying to have a coalition with working class whites. So they're a bunch of bandits.

Question: Sort of like KKK . . .

BOBBY LEE: Man, look here, no, look here. At least KKK don't be shooting at their own people.

Question: (Unintelligible).

Question: In Greensboro, North Carolina, GEORGE DORSETT, United Klans of America, found a couple of friends of mine, a boy and girl, black and white, together, and they were like . . .

BOBBY LEE: Okay, okay, but I just made a statement. Let's get back to that. The mother-fuckers, we won't go through that. But what I'm saying is that they're not Panthers, there is no Panther charter in North Carolina or South Carolina. The only Panther charter in the South Branch is in Houston, Texas, see? And these niggers names is GROVER BENNETT, BENJAMIN HAIRSTON, BEN CHAVIS, JOHN COVINGTON, ROCHESTER WALL, VERONICA HUGGINS, BENITA COLBERT, JEAN GATOR, JACK DIXON, LEONARD SMITH, JAMES BLACK, JAMES CROWDER, BEN COVINGTON. In Winston-Salem there is no chapter or branch there, and in Greensboro, North Carolina there is none there. And in August 16, 1969, in a shoot-out at Chick-N-Ribs restaurant unnecessary, and see this will cause Panthers to be killed nationwide, man, niggers to be called renegades, bandits, dudes on eagle trips, don't know what Panthers, don't know we're a political

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organization. Racists when we're not racist. Shooting at black people when we don't even shoot at nobody. So if that means, if ELDRIDGE CLEAVER would go to Charlotte, North Carolina now, the people up there are so up-tight they might kill him.

Question: Well BEN CHAVIS, what is he? I've heard of him before.

BOBBY LEE: He goes to school up there.

Question: (Unintelligible).

Question: What are you going to do to control this? They're still wearing the Black Panther uniforms.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, well see, but see, this is the thing. Now, we wanted to be here for a while. See, see, believe in this. And the thing about heightening the contradiction by having press statement, you are the people got to have guts enough to control it.

Question: Are you going to Charlotte?

BOBBY LEE: We're not going to Charlotte now. We're here. Let them simple fools get down. And I'll tell you something, see, the thing about this, see, these cats, 75 chapters in this country know these cats. The paper came out this week nationwide, with every one of these dudes' names in it, nationwide.

Question: What have you got, a black list or something?

BOBBY LEE: Hell, yeah, they're blacklisted. If they ain't blacklisted, I don't . . .

Question: What does that mean?

BOBBY LEE: I mean they're not Panthers. That's what, what does blacklist mean? They're not Panthers, they're not Panthers, period. Period, they're not Panthers.

Question: (Unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: And some of them will ask you for \$10 in Charlotte, North Carolina, saying he's a Panther and he is trying to get a breakfast for children program, you tell him he's a damn liar. This is like the same shit happened in Washington, D. C. Six weeks ago four Panthers, we don't know where they're from, four so-called Panthers collected \$3,000, man, talking about you're going to open a Black Panther Party in Washington, D. C. and we don't even have a branch there. They went to a _____ (unintelligible) law firm in Georgetown in Washington, D. C., had their people collecting \$3,000, man, and here we are, trying like hell to feed these kids every morning, going to jail every day, getting killed, you know what I mean, going in exile, and here's some motherfuckers man, going around here collecting \$3,000. If I go to jail today, man, I ain't got no bail bond to get out. We don't know how in the hell we're going to get out from this trip down South when we're finished. And you can imagine the money they've collected in Charlotte, North Carolina.

Question: I think they've got a kindergarten set up there and I think they called them Panther Cubs.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah and see, with no politics, could you imagine being racist, having shoot-outs with black people and white people, can you imagine how they are fucking all them kids?

Question: (First part unintelligible). I want to know how can we help fight the contradictions as far as black people are concerned. SDS for example in one point (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Well see, that is SDS job to see that, man.

Question: (Unintelligible.)

BOBBY LEE: Lester? Well see LESTER made a statement. Yeah, right. Well see, LESTER made a damn statement that was entirely revolutionary, Jack. Now you read, did you read the statement first? I mean the first statement that he made about the Black Panther Party and the Young Patriots and all power to the people? Did you read that?

Question: Yeah.

BOBBY LEE: See, LESTER undoubtedly doesn't know what all power to the people means.

Question: Yeah, well I think the man's main purpose was about the slogan . . . (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Well the slogan is a very important thing, man. Slogans are a very important thing to the people, to propagandize the people, man. You know what I mean. That's just like MALCOLM X. All y'all go around here talking about by any means necessary. That was MALCOLM's words, you know, the slogan means a lot, man.

Question: Yeah, the point that I see, though, is not so much LESTER's argument, because he found a lot wrong with . . . (rest unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Right, and you'd find something wrong with ours too, man.

Question: (First part unintelligible) counter-revolutionary, but the point is, do white youths have the right to tell this man that he doesn't have the right as . . .

BOBBY LEE: They have the right. They have the right. They have the right. They have, if everybody has the right to disagree with somebody, man. And that was political, that was very political. Look here, man, so what, that's what's wrong now. See, now you're making a racist statement. Yes you are, yes you are, man. You know, because see, if LESTER makes a statement against an organization if it's white and this organization analyzes it politically and feel nothing is wrong, it's their right to do it. And I'm sure LESTER is an open dude, Jack, and he _____ (unintelligible). If he didn't he is just like you. But I think everybody, like we have a right, like FL, Progressive Labor Party, all right, who criticized FL? The Black Panther Party did. That's right. Who caused the split? The Black Panther Party, see? All right, SDS, I mean, you got to, I mean, see, this is the thing, man, if people aren't above to take criticism.

Question: Yes, but black circumstances and white circumstances right now are very much different and have been for the last 300 years.

BOBBY LEE: No, man, no. See, that's what's wrong now, man. That's what's wrong, man. That's what's wrong. Politically, when you give a political criticism, man, it's good. I mean, good or bad it is right, man.

Question: Which is the point that I'm making. That LESTER as a radical brother had the right to make a criticism . . .

BOBBY LEE: Okay, I didn't rebuke that, but I said they also have, this group if they criticized . . .

Question: But they don't have the right to tell him that he doesn't have the right to criticize.

BOBBY LEE: No, man no. No. They didn't say that. They didn't say that. They just came down and LESTER gave a criticism of all power to the people.

Question: (Unintelligible) . . . to criticize the Black Panther Party, that he criticizes the vanguard party and . . .

BOBBY LEE: All revolutionary organizations . . .

Question: And all over the world.

BOBBY LEE: But he criticized all power to the people, that's what LESTER, he criticized that connotation. And that's the word that is used all over the world, man, as far as socialism is concerned, that's the word that's used in Cuba, that's the word that's used in, right. And so what it said, LESTER is criticizing people. Because all your revolutions all over the country, man, like half the world right now have been liberated through the Marx or Leninist theory. See, and Socialism is all power to the people when you say that. And so when LESTER came down, see like, don't get me wrong, man, LESTER has been rolling some beautiful shit. He's got some brothers together. You know what I mean. But LESTER made that statement. Now I don't know if LESTER meant

it like that, and I hope he writes back and clarifies, I mean everybody is hoping he will write back and clarify it. You know what I mean. But see, like the Young Patriot organization wrote that letter back. And we _____ (unintelligible) because we can't understand where in the hell, because BOBBY SILL, BOBBY SILL (phonetic) went to jail, I mean BOBBY SILL trying to build, BOBBY SILL trying to figure out where in the hell he's coming. (next few words unintelligible). But it happened that the Patriots wrote this thing in and he wrote on behalf of all of them. And I hope like hell that they clarify that, because when you cut off all power to the people, then you cut Socialism down. You cut _____ (unintelligible).

Question: But the thing I'm saying is, that what to be done is given criticism (next few words unintelligible), is whether black groups and white groups have the right to appoint vanguard bodies in the black community.

BOBBY LEE: But no, no . . .

BILL FESPERMAN: Wait, let me deal with this. How in the hell can Young Patriots appoint the Black Panther Party the vanguard? We never done that. We never done that.

Question: SDS, Yeah, right.

BILL FESPERMAN: SDS didn't appoint the Black Panther Party. The Black Panther Party established itself as the vanguard. We established ourselves as the vanguard in the white community. Now, MADDOX, I almost said LESTER MADDOX.

Question: Suppose that for example RON CUERIGA (phonetic) doesn't make it, that the Panthers are vanguard of . . .

BOBBY LEE: Well who is RON CUERIGA, though?

Question: He's shit as far as I'm concerned.

BOBBY LEE: Okay, okay.

Question: But he is a Black Panther and his brother is working in a black community.

BOBBY LEE: What is he doing, but what is he doing, though?

Question: (Unintelligible).

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but see, as long as, the thing about it is that RON CUERICA (phonetic) ain't talking about no revolution, man. He ain't said nothing about that.

Question: He's been talking about shit, but that's not the issue, though, white folks . . .

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but see, who is LESTER? But see, the thing about it when you talk about vanguard parties, man, white vanguard parties, brown vanguard parties, red or yellow vanguard parties, man, you are using the Marxist theory as a guideline, which LESTER (unintelligible). So God damn, we're all of us on the same guideline. Anyone of you could have criticized us. Anyone of us could have . . .

BILL ELSENMAN: JULIUS LESTER, JULIUS LESTER, has said that, has said that you know, a white can't be a revolutionary and JESSIE JACKSON has said there is no white leadership, and what JESSIE JACKSON is saying there is no white leadership like JESSIE JACKSON. And that's bullshit.

Question: But I'm not saying, his mama was a prayer book and in the second place, you know, JESSIE JACKSON was a preacher. So the man's gotta have some problems right there. But that's not the issue. See, the issue is the relationship between black radical groups on the one hand and white radical groups on the other hand, and the implication that this has regarding the racial.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but see, you still missing the point. See, you're talking about radical, and white radicals, and Patriots are not no radicals. They're revolutionaries, man. And then you got to understand also man, that all of those are revolutionaries and got revolutionary men, and damn JULIUS LESTER ain't shit, that nobody can't criticize him, white, black, and brown or red. And so you like talking about black liberation, we're talking about black liberation, but at the same time we're talking about

coalition of other oppressed people, see? So therefore, when LESTER made his statement about all power to the people that he don't dig words, now what he did _____ (unintelligible). The only revolutionary organization in this country, you know, he didn't cut the revolutionary organization of CASTRO in Cuba, in South America, or even in Africa. Even in Africa, the same thing, that they'll see. So, see, he ain't that dam great that he can't be criticized. You know what I mean.

Question: I don't mean the man can't be criticized. See, the whole thing I'm saying, see, what I'm trying to raise questions about is the relationship between black revolutionary groups and white revolutionary groups and the implications that kind of relationship that they have will _____ (unintelligible) for black liberation.

BOBBY LEE: Yeah, but see . . .

Question: (Unintelligible) The national groups, and the hang-up that you and I know that black people have anyway.

BOBBY LEE: Right. Well still, you're still missing the point, man. When all other revolutionary . . . wait, wait, wait. I'm trying to say that when all revolutionary organizations, including the Panthers, the Patriots, _____ (unintelligible), Young Lords, when they are following one guideline, man, the Marxist-Leninist theory, that's all the guideline, and then when they're heightening the contradiction in their communities, and we're heightening the contradiction as far as black liberation is concerned, white liberation, brown liberation, then man, they're even collectively, see what I mean, _____ (unintelligible) to criticize a cat like LESTER.

Question: Yeah, but at the same time, like LEONARD HESS _____ (unintelligible) in the Russian situation, MAO has walked out in China . . .

BOBBY LEE: And we got to make _____ (unintelligible) here, and let's come on back here.

Question: Is the same thing that we've got here. Given, you know, that racism is a much more important factor here than in any place else in the world. What are we going to do with this?

BOBBY LEE: Well that's the core, that's the core of the thing here. That we got to fight a whole front. See, the thing, you run all these things down, but see in Cuba, man, it was the peasants, man, against the bourgeoisie, man. China, peasants against the bourgeoisie. Africa black and white. See what I mean? Here, you got all kinds of nationalities and groups besides black groups that are oppressed in this country. Ain't no way in the world no bunch of niggers is going to go run off a revolution because you ain't got no niggers ready, you know.

Question: I tell you, you got to get the brothers ready at the same time, the Puerto Ricah cats . . .

BOBBY LEE: That's what it's all about. All right.

Question: Get the Mexican brothers ready at the same time the white brothers are getting the poor whites together and the white working class together.

BOBBY LEE: All right, see this is what we mean by . . .

Question: Revolutionary power, yeah. But should we come together before a revolution?

BOBBY LEE: Look here man, that's why you got a Black Panther Party in the black community. That's why you got the Young Patriots in white oppressed communities, uptown Chicago.

(Space in tape, unintelligible)

BOBBY LEE: But everybody got the same guidelines. The first basic guideline is fighting racism. And the second basic, along with the first guideline of fighting racism, is meeting that basic need. But when you're on the same ideology, man, you don't have to be living in the same community. See what I mean? It is already naturally together. You know what I mean, it's already naturally together.

(The following comments were made by GEORGE DOYLE, WCHL News.)

GEORGE DOYLE (phonetic), WCHL News, speaking to a fairly packed house tonight, BOBBY LEE and BILL FESPERMAN, members of the Black Panther organization and the Young Patriots from Chicago, Illinois are now leaving the hall. They showed three movies tonight about the Black Panthers and their work with the Young Patriots organization, and they each talked for about 20 minutes and spent 30 minutes for questions and answers with those in the audience. The Young Patriots organization, which was represented by BILL FESPERMAN, who was their field secretary, is a political organization of working youth in the uptown area in Chicago. They are in coalition with the Black Panther Party of which BOBBY LEE is the field secretary in the Illinois Chapter. And they're also allied with the Young Lords organization, the Latin Eagles, and the Lincoln Park Patriots. They were forced to cut short tonight as the Carolina Union closed at 11:00 p.m. and some thought that they might go over to a classroom building on the campus.

It was a long evening and much was discussed, and many went away feeling differently about today's society. But the main question in everybody's mind is what is going to happen to racism? Who are the Black Panthers? What are they trying to do? What are their real goals? And what are the goals of the racists that they so condemn? Many people walked away confused. GEORGE DOYLE, WCHL News, from the UNC campus.

(The following speech was made by CARL DAVIDSON on September 22, 1969, on the subject "Vietnam Will Win." CARL DAVIDSON is a former national officer of the SDS, currently with the "Guardian.")

Can you hear me speaking like this, sitting down? Okay, good. First off, I'll tell you a little bit about the nature of the meeting. And hopefully I won't speak too long so we can spend a lot of time with questions.

Early in July thirty young Americans, mostly SDS, received an invitation from the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and the North Vietnamese to attend a meeting in Havana, Cuba. This wasn't the first time that representatives of _____ (unintelligible) organizations have met with the Vietnamese people, but the nature of this meeting was a little bit different. First was the makeup of the American delegation. Unlike previous delegations that have met with the Vietnamese, this delegation was pretty much politically homogeneous in the sense that it represented the, more or less, the hard core of the New Left, rather than having a broad representation of everything from liberal to radical groups. The other thing, and this composition of the American delegation was at the request of the Vietnamese.

The other thing that was different was that it was the longest and most intensive meeting that the Vietnamese have had with Americans. It lasted a total of eight days. It was held in a very secluded spot outside Havana, where we didn't come into much contact with Cubans but mainly just sat morning, noon, and night in discussions, workshops, panels, speeches, both from the Vietnamese and from the American delegation.

The main thing I want to talk about is the message that the Vietnamese presented to us. And how they outlined the current situation in Vietnamese liberation struggle. They started by giving you a history of the military and political struggle in Vietnam, how it's developed up to the present point, where the U. S., as they put it, has been defeated politically and militarily in Vietnam.

As they see it, the war has gone through three different periods. The first period of the war which started, actually started picking up in around 1960 up until 1965, is the period what they call special war. This is where the U. S. followed pretty much the strategy of using Green Beret kind of advisors and tried to rely upon the puppet army in Saigon as the main force of fighting against the Vietnamese. In 1965 the Vietnamese said they had defeated this strategy and if you remember at that time what had happened, JOHNSON had ordered the massive escalation of American presence in Vietnam, and had started the bombing of North Vietnam.

The Vietnamese saw the fact the U. S. had to do this as a sign of victory on their part because that it meant that all the U. S. theories of counterinsurgency (phonetic) and special warfare had come to naught, that they were not able to organize a sufficient base for the Saigon machine, that they had not been able to win the minds and hearts of the people to fight, to fight for the U. S., and as a result had to rely upon the massive escalation, sending one-half million U. S. troops.

The second period of the war that began at that time is what they call, well they divide it into two parts. In South Vietnam they call it the strategy, the U. S. was following the strategy of limited war. And in the North they called the war destruction, destruction against North Vietnam, mainly an air war. With the stopping of the bombing and with the beginning of the tet offensive (phonetic), the Vietnamese felt that both of these strategies of the U. S. had been defeated. But the U. S., around the time WESTMORELAND was kicked out of Vietnam, kicked upstairs, that the U. S. in the first period and that limited war, followed the strategy of search and destroy missions.

And a later period in limited war that they had followed a strategy that they called clear and hold. The U. S. is no longer able to carry out search and destroy and clear and hold operations. And they saw that as defeat of limited war.

In terms of the war of destruction against North Vietnam, the Vietnamese people convincingly argued that the U. S. thought this bombing of North Vietnam, not out of any moral sensibilities, but mainly because the error of destruction was defeated in the North by organizing people's war against it, mainly, that the massive anti-aircraft activities, from women in the rice paddies shooting at planes with rifles to the Soviet SAM missiles, had caused such a toll in terms of the number of U. S. aircraft shot down, it caused such economic strain on the U. S. in terms of what it was supposed to achieve, namely to stop the North from supplying material support to the South, that they were able to continue to give material aid to the South and they were not able to break the resistance of the North Vietnamese people. In fact, the resistance of the North Vietnamese people increased and they were not able to disrupt the economy of North Vietnam. In fact, the economy of North Vietnam increased its output throughout that period.

So they say that as mainly, that the Vietnamese people themselves played a decisive role in defeating the war of destruction in the North, although they do so that almost as important was the international public opinion calling for the stopping of the bombing in North Vietnam.

All of you probably know about the tetoffensive (phonetic). The tetoffensive marks the period the Vietnamese see as the final bankruptcy of the strategy of limited warfare. That with all of its military might, sophisticated technology, that the U. S. was not even able to find out ahead of time about the spontaneous uprisings in 140-some cities all across South Vietnam, let alone to do anything about it. The Pentagon likes to make the claim that the tetoffensive was primarily a psychological victory and that it didn't really have that much political fruit. But the way the Vietnamese see what came out of the tetoffensive in terms of political goals was the formation this spring of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam which is made up mainly of two forces, the National Liberation Front and the Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces. The latter coalition of organizations developed mainly as a result of the tetoffensive in the cities and represents elements within the cities that have

previously been neutral or wavering, but as a result of the tet offensive had politically been won over to the struggle of the National Liberation Front. And to get in an even broader united front than the Vietnamese had ever had in the past, they formed the Provisional Revolutionary Government.

Now I think that it's important to understand that the Provisional Revolutionary Government that is formed is no mere paper organization or just the NLF under another name. At this time four-fifths of the territory of South Vietnam and 11 million of the 14 million people in South Vietnam live in areas administered by the Provisional Revolutionary Government. Now when I say administered, you have to understand that the Provisional Revolutionary Government is not just a body of political representatives, but a full civil and political administration. They have schools, they run schools, health services, post offices, develop agricultural reforms, and agricultural programs, agricultural activities, everything that a revolutionary government can be involved in.

It has in every village in the liberated areas elected local revolutionary committees that are chosen by the people in those villages by direct elections. In some of the contested areas they have Provisional Revolutionary Committees, but in the contested areas they're not elected but rather appointed until such time as those areas are secured and brought into the liberated zones when the representatives in those areas will then be elected.

At this point the U. S. military strategy in Vietnam or the position of the U. S. military in Vietnam is one of completely, completely defensive position. The U. S. forces are mainly concentrated in large cities or around large military bases, and are unable to move throughout the countryside. It's sort of what used to be called Gavin's _____ (unintelligible) Theory, only the U. S. didn't adopt it by a matter of free choice but were more or less pushed into it. Even in these completely defensive positions the U. S. bases are constantly under attack and assault from the People's Liberation Armed Forces. For instance, just one indication, 40 per cent of the U. S. military forces in Vietnam right now are dedicated totally just to the defense of the perimeter

around Saigon, that they're just completely tied up doing that, protecting their own supply lines, trying to just mainly try to keep their bases from being overrun.

At present the only kind of offensive, if you can call them that, offensive operations that the U. S. military is able to pull off in Vietnam are of two sorts. Both of them are very cynical, I think, in terms of the human cost of the war. The one tactic that is the use of _____ (unintelligible) troops in Vietnam that has supposedly replaced search and destroy and clear and hold, is a tactic that the U. S. calls interception from afar. And basically the way the Vietnamese explained this to us is what the U. S. does is take a bunch of GI's in a helicopter and fly them out into somewhere in the liberated areas and drop them, and then they'll sort of have observation planes which watches which direction they get wiped out from. And then at that point they use that to decide where to send the B-52's to bomb. In other words, they're using GI's as decoys. And that's basically what they, they way the People's Liberation Armed Forces see that tactic.

One of the people who we spoke to was a Regional Commander of the People's Liberation Armed Forces near, in a region near Quay, in South Vietnam. And he ran down for us in a very systematic way a lot of the different bankrupt strategies of the U. S. military.

We also spoke to representatives from women's organizations, representatives of national minorities, or working youth, official representatives of both the DRV and PRG, journalists, school teachers. There was quite a wide variety of different Vietnamese.

The other tactic that the U. S. uses is what they call accelerated pacification. And essentially the way that works is that helicopter gunships or planes will come in and drop napalm on a village, people will run out of the houses to get away from the napalm, then they drop anti-personnel weapons, these pellet bombs and then come in with napalm and more bombs, until the total destruction. That's what the U. S. calls accelerated

pacification. Basically other than these two things, the main aspect of U. S. military strategy in South Vietnam at this point is the bombing. And most of the bombing is not even done from airfields in Vietnam, but rather planes are sent either from Thailand, Guam or from aircraft carriers off the shore of Vietnam. As most of you probably know, that recently the bombing of South Vietnam has been increased, that it already has taken, and the level of it has just been incredible, since more bombs have been dropped in Vietnam than everywhere and by everybody in all of World War II. We have to remember that Vietnam is only about the size of Pennsylvania or New Jersey, or one of those states, to give you an idea of the kind of concentration of the bombing.

The way the Vietnamese look at it though is very interesting. The fact that the U. S. is reduced to indiscriminate bombing what they call free strike zones, and at this point almost all of South Vietnam even including some suburbs of Saigon are in these free strike zones. That means that pilots are allowed to drop bombs on anything that moves. The way the Vietnamese look at that is when the U. S. has to use that tactic, again they see that as victory because what that means is that the U. S. is completely unable to send in ground troops because that area has been secured by the People's Liberation Armed Forces, that the Saigon army and the Saigon puppet government is unable to send in its local officials and that it is completely politically and militarily secured the area to the point that the only thing the U. S. can do is indiscriminate bombing. And when the U. S. is reduced to that tactic, the NLF uses that as indication that they've won in that particular area.

Presently, one of the things that the Vietnamese, the way they presented the current struggle and sort of summed it up at this point is that they see the war in Vietnam being fought on three fronts at this point. One front is in Vietnam itself. The second front is in Paris, that's the diplomatic front. And the third front is in the realm of international public opinion, particularly U. S. public opinion.

And feeling at this point in the struggle is that they have won victory in Vietnam, that they have totally defeated the political and military strategy of the U. S., that the Saigon Regime

is more isolated than it ever has been in the past, that it's disintegrating within itself. This is one aspect of the strategy of the negotiation. One purpose of the NLF is engaging in negotiations. Also to further the contradictions that existed within the narrow basis that did exist in the Saigon Regime, and to cause further contradictions to develop between that and so that different people in lower and middle levels of the Saigon administration would come over to the NLF and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, so that certain sections of the puppet army would come over to the NLF.

During the tetroffensive whole units would desert to the other side. Some units don't desert but they work out an agreement with the NLF where they just won't do anything, and they just sort of sit on their hands. And some of these agreements are public. Other agreements they have with people within the Saigon administration are clandestine. And this has been one of the results in their terms of the negotiations in Paris. It has caused the further disintegration and further contradictions to develop within the two-key regime.

With the presentation this spring of the NLF Ten-Point Peace Program which came out about the same time as Nixon's Eight Points, they decided that they had achieved a diplomatic victory in Paris, that their feeling that the NLF Ten-Point Program is the only just basis for solution to the war and their feeling is that they have won the acceptance of that position among almost all diplomatic circles in the world and have isolated the U. S. in that sense.

The third front, international public opinion, is what they feel is crucial at this point. It's particularly within the U. S. The way they sort of summed it up is that the position of the U. S. politically and militarily in Vietnam at this point is much worse than the French position after Dien Bien Thu (phonetic). There is nothing that the U. S. can do at this point to change the situation that Nixon's talk about Vietnamization of the war or de-Americanization of the war, of going back to special warfare, they look on as an absurdity.

And the way one of them put it, it's taking the strategy, well it was replacing the strategy that's just been defeated with one that was defeated before that, and that's what Nixon's up to at this point. And all of Nixon's talk about troop withdrawals and all the different proposals he comes out with, they see as not directed at them at all, that the main objects of all Nixon's pronouncements is mainly the U. S. public. Because they recognize them as absurdities, and have no real relation to the actual objective situation in Vietnam. It is mainly for domestic consumption designed to buy Nixon some time to try and continue the bombing of South Vietnam to hope to win back at the negotiating table what the U. S. has lost on the battlefield.

They see this as something that's completely unacceptable and hold firmly to the position that the U. S. must have the total and unconditional withdrawal of all U. S. troops and dismantling of all military bases in Vietnam as the only just basis for solution to the war. In the past Vietnamese had always been very thankful for the support that they've received from people all over the world, particularly from the American anti-war movement in protesting U. S. aggression in Vietnam. They see this mainly as a result of the fact that their struggle was a just struggle and it deserves the support of almost all of humanity.

However, in the past, I don't think judging from other times that I've talked with Vietnamese, that they didn't see it as so important as, the U. S. anti-war movement that is, as quite as important as it could be at this point. I think that is the result of the fact that now the reason why the U. S. anti-war movement becomes important at this point is because of the fact of the NLF rising to the conclusion that they have won victory on the other two fronts, that what has to be done at this point is to convince NIXON that he has to withdraw. Their position is that NIXON has not yet made the decision to leave Vietnam and that even though they've done everything that they can to convince him in South Vietnam in terms of defeating him and in costs that's being born by GI's that he's in a completely irrational kind of position. And this has to be made clear to the American people.

Even so, let's put it this way, the Vietnamese people, even if there was no anti-war movement in the United States or anywhere else in the world, are convinced, and I'm convinced also, that they would win final victory, that they would, that Vietnam will in fact win. They are prepared to continue fighting the war five years, ten years, twenty years, thirty years, until that they've won the complete withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam. At the same time they're willing to do everything short of compromising those basic principles to ease the U. S. out of Vietnam. In fact, they put it as if the U. S. troops want red carpets and flowers strewn before them as they go to the boats, that they'll be glad to organize that for them. But they will not budge on the principle of total and immediate withdrawal.

At this point, they say that the U. S. anti-war movement can play an almost decisive role not in the sense of whether or not they will win victory but in the sense of whether the war will end in a year or at an early time, or whether the war will take longer to win. Now, and that's what it about boils down to, and that's I think at this point our responsibility not only to the Vietnamese people but to the American people as well.

That's sort of the general outline of what the Vietnamese presented. In each of these areas they went into a lot more detail but one thing that they did talk about which is very difficult to convey unless you've actually met with them and talked with them, and studied the situation in Vietnam quite thoroughly, is how a nation of 14 million people, how this small underdeveloped nation has been able to take on what is supposedly the most powerful military machine in the world and not only bring it to a grinding halt, but to actually defeat it on the battlefield. The kind of answer that they gave is people's war.

But again, I mean, to a lot of people that seems just like a slogan. And a lot of, and when the military guy was speaking to us, he had a few thoughts in his speech, that the greatest invention of the twentieth century is not nuclear weapons but people's war. The U. S. will never escape from the labyrinth and see of fighting of people's war.

And time and time again they emphasized this thing called people's war, and what's involved in it. It's hard to convey it except in a sense of understanding that it's the total organization and mobilization of all the people in Vietnam in most total and heroic kinds of resistance on all different levels, everything up from the regional People's Liberation Armed Forces and units down to finding ways for even children to participate in the struggle. Non-violent demonstrations. Women in a village when a tank will come into a village, 50 to 100 women without arms will swarm onto the tanks and sit down in front of them and try to bring them to a stop.

You know, political struggle is on many different levels. They'll organize women whose husbands or sons or brothers who have been killed within puppet army to organize demonstrations in the cities. Well let me give you one example to give you an idea of the wide ranging kinds of things that are involved in fighting a people's war. _____ (unintelligible) people's war, according to JOCK, NGUYEN JOCK (phonetic), the North Vietnamese military theorist, is fought from four different fronts, a political front, military, economic, and cultural. One of the most fascinating aspects of Vietnam.

(The following was a question and answer period following the above speech. Most of the questions were unintelligible. The answers were given by CARL DAVIDSON.)

Question: (Unintelligible)

Answer: Yeah, we went into, we had a lot of discussion about that. The nature of the United Front and what kind of information were within it. Maybe I should go into that. The Vietnam struggle is not a struggle for a Socialist revolution. What Vietnamese are fighting at this stage is what's called a national democratic revolution. The kind of situation that exists in Vietnam, we have a colony that's predominantly feudalistic, feudal internally, and externally imperialist and colonialist, where most of the people, 90 per cent of the people, are peasants. That it's impossible to make a Socialist revolution. But what has to happen is this first stage of the National Democratic Revolution. So that means in terms of the way the struggle has been organized is that _____ (unintelligible) United Front of all social strata in all classes

in Vietnam have been, has been mobilized to form this nationalist, nationally democratic government. There are certain things about that though. There are two levels to the kind of way the Vietnamese see the United Front. The first level of unity within the front is the alliance between workers and the peasantry. And this is the basis and hard core of the front. And part of it is led by the People's Revolutionary Party, which is the Communist Party in South Vietnam.

Now the other level of unity is the broader level which includes just about everybody except a handful of puppets in Saigon. But the leading element within that is the worker-peasant alliance, you know, organized and led by the People's Revolutionary Party.

Within the National Liberation Front there are three different political parties. One is the Democratic Party, which represents mainly progressive businessmen and some landlords. Well, I should say patriotic landlords and businessmen. These are the ones that have come over to the struggle who've had their businesses or their land disrupted by U. S. presence and have been run over with for strictly economic reasons or for patriotic reasons, have come to the NLF.

The second party is what's called the Radical Socialist Party, which represents mainly the intellectuals within the cities. And the third one is People's Revolutionary Party, which represents workers, peasants, women's organizations, student organizations, the army and the progressive intellectuals as opposed to the intellectuals. And that is the leading element within the front.

Now in addition to that, is the organizations of all different religious sects that exist in Vietnam, different mass organizations, just about you know, the widest variety of everything.

Now, one aspect of how far the front is willing to go is in addition to having the National Liberation Front which is itself the united front, one thing that's been organized is the National Alliance of Democratic and Peace Forces which represents a lot of bourgeoisie elements within the cities, which want to join the liberation struggle. But for one reason or another, mainly anti-Communism or something, will not come into the National Liberation

Front so that they've formed an alliance between those two alliances essentially.

Now in addition to that, the Vietnamese said that they have another category of people that they're trying to win over and these are people who do not want to join either of these two fronts, people who are usually part of the Saigon administration or anti-Communist, but at the same time anti-American, at least in a sense that they understand that the U. S. has to get out because of the war; otherwise, it's leading to the destruction of Vietnam, or even to the fact that they've just sort of seen the light and sort of which way the cards have fallen and they understand that for their own survival if they don't hurry up and get over to the other side now, that it's going to be, you know, that they're going to be defeated. And nobody wants to be on the losing side.

Now, they have this third category which includes people who haven't joined organizationally in either of the alliances or the front but is sort of a, in an organizational category, but a category based on what people do. They say well we won't judge you by your past or what kind of things you've done in the past, but we'll judge you by what kinds of concrete deeds you do now in terms of aiding the liberation struggle. And this category is for people who have not joined the United Front of the Vietnamese People, have not joined the Provisional Revolutionary Government, but who stand on the side of it in terms of specific deeds that they do to further the liberation struggle.

Now in terms of what all that means, in terms of the outcome that will happen after the war, all elements, even the anti-Communist ones are within the Alliance of National Democratic and Peace Forces, have, and they're a minority group in there, have accepted the position of reunification and no element or strata within the front has given up on that.

In terms of, some people were, like some of the Americans ask questions, they're somewhat worried well, you know, and we talked to the People's Revolutionary Party people, they say well are you guys really, I mean does this weaken you, the fact that the front gets broader and broader. You know, and they point to the example of Algeria. They even thought the Algerians won it militarily from the French, that they are politically _____

(unintelligible) more reactionary kind of direction. And they said no, that the way they look at it, the harder the core the broader the front that you can form. And they say that we've got a very, very hard core and that the People's Revolutionary Party, you know, has wide acceptance among the people of Vietnam, that the head of their equivalent of the Department of Defense in the Provisional Revolutionary Government, is also the head of the People's Revolutionary Party. So that, you know, the armed forces are, at least, are led by the People's Revolutionary Party.

Another thing is that the broader the front becomes, it doesn't make them weaker but in fact makes them stronger. And that it's a principle alliance, that it's based on the fact that the work-peasant alliance is in the leadership of that, and that they maintain the principle reunification with the North.

Question: (Unintelligible)

Answer: Well let me present the way the Vietnamese look at it. One thing that some of the Americans brought up in terms of different anti-war organizations is that they would say well, this group or that group is just anti-war. It's not anti-imperialist. And they would use that as a way of sort of saying that that thing is not important. The way the Vietnamese look at it, any demonstration that's organized in the United States that has a demand for immediate withdrawal of all U. S. troops from Vietnam, whether it is led by pacifists, liberals, radicals, revolutionaries, whatever, is objectively anti-imperialist demonstration, that it plays that kind of role. As far as, and I think that I'd probably share that perspective that at this point what is most needed is the broadest possible mass militant demonstrations are united around the demand for immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops from Vietnam. That is, you know, massive and _____ (unintelligible) tries to take the issue of the war to the working people of the country. Now I think that that's what we have to do in terms, that is foremost in terms of our responsibility and also would be most effective. At the same time my feeling at this point is that any demonstration from the Quaker Peace March, you know where they read the names of the war dead in Times Square, bound to the, you know, the militant kind of thing that the weatherman (next few words unintelligible) of SDS organized in Chicago in one sense or another plays an important role. Any demonstration against war as far as I'm concerned, is a good thing. Some are better than others. Does that answer your question?

Question: Yeah. (Rest unintelligible)

Answer: Well I have very strong critique of the weatherman thing. Maybe we should get into that in the panel on the Revolutionary Youth Movement. I think it's more than to alienate working people, I think it's an attack on working people. But we can get into that later.

Question: (Unintelligible)

Answer: Well they work very much together. But at the same time, there is always a kind of deference between the two. In terms of protocol, they always in terms of talking that you always make a distinction between the representatives of the North and the representatives of the South. We do this all the time. In other words, you raise certain questions with the North Vietnamese that are about South Vietnam, and they always refer you to the South Vietnamese and vice versa. By the, you know, I mean there's no political differences between them, or no antagonisms between them of any sort that I could ever find. And they basically understand that Vietnam is one, that Vietnam is one country.

Question: Since Ho Chi Minh was enjoying considerable personal popularity even among non-Communists, what impact do you think his death will have on them?

Answer: I answered that for BURCHETTE (phonetic) back in January before HO CHI MINH died. He was in New York, and we asked him just a matter of speculation, that we understood that HO CHI MINH was getting kind of old, and he said that it wouldn't have any effect, that it would be a loss not only for Vietnamese people but for, you know, all liberation struggles, in the sense that HO CHI MINH is a great man, a great leader. But one of the things, qualities of HO CHI MINH that made him such a great man is that he understood throughout the struggle the necessity of collective leadership and held to that principle throughout the development of the struggle in Vietnam. The way BURCHETTE (Phonetic) put it, this is in the eyes of the Vietnamese, that there are a lot of other leaders, TRA CHINH (phonetic), LEE DONH (phonetic), PHA DAN DONG (phonetic) that enjoy a lot of respect in terms not only of

people of North Vietnam but also South Vietnam, and because of the fact that they Vietnamese have always operated on the principle of collective leadership that HO's death would not be a hindrance to the continuing struggle.

Question: (Unintelligible)

Answer: Talked about it some. First of all, the Vietnamese do not consider the American prisoners to be prisoners of war and they did not consider them to be coming in the jurisdiction of any kind of international agreements. And that's because there has been no declaration of war on the part of the U. S. That's one thing. And they see it as mainly an act of criminal aggression and that these guys are simply criminals. It's just like if somebody came to your house and threw a fire bomb in it, or somebody walked into your back yard and started shooting up your kids. That's, you know, the way they look at these pirates. They don't see them as prisoners of war. They see them mainly as crimes against humanity.

Nonetheless, the Vietnamese say that they've, even the fact that they feel that they have every right to try these guards and even execute them, they have taken what they consider to be a humanitarian position in the way that the prisoners are treated and taken care of and expressed a great concern over the fact that some of the early prisoners that had been released have been either shut up by the U. S. military or in the case of one of them, he died. You know, that made _____ (unintelligible) a position that he had been killed by the military because he was a black guy and was going to speak out against war.

In terms of their attitude toward GI's in general, they have, in a way they're very saddened by the fact that they have to kill them. They understand that most of them are not over there as a matter of choice that they have been forced into a situation. They say that the morale of the U. S. troops is incredibly low, and they describe some battlefield teams where the guys just sort of sneaked out and _____ (unintelligible) just sort of paddle together and run away. They said sometimes that a bullet would go through three of them. And they've also

told us that several hundred GI's have gone over to their side and are now fighting on the side of the NLF. A few of them in the front lines, others working in the liberated areas developing propaganda. And there are also maybe about two or three hundred GI's that the Provisional Revolutionary Government, who deserted, that the Provisional Revolutionary Government has gotten to come to the side (next few words unintelligible). And they've gone through the _____ (unintelligible) in order to get out of the struggle. And they do a lot of work with U. S. troops.

I had a long discussion with a military guy from about the way they saw this. And they saw it as long range political work. They talk about they developed out their basic _____ (unintelligible), developed in study with them that a lot of the troops in the defense problem were colonial troops from other colonized countries. The kind of work that they would do among the French troops had a political purpose of trying to send these guys over so that when they went back to their respective countries that they would engage in the liberation struggle. And they do the same sort of work with the American GI's and have the same kind of long range international contraspective on the importance of that. They have GI coffee houses and stuff like that. In Saigon where they find the GI's and they work with them and explain to them what people's war is all about and what the struggle is all about. Sometimes they'll win a guy over. And they told us one story about one guy they won over who wanted to desert right then, but they convinced him to go back to his battalion, which was a tank battalion, to organize the rest of the guys, and they said that when he came back he brought thirty guys with him. And thirty of them as a unit signed over.

Question: Do you have any idea of how many casualties . . .
(rest unintelligible.)

Answer: Well, their casualty figures that the NLF gives is about two times the size of what the U. S. admits. There's no way, there's no way of judging, you know, what the real situation is.

Question: Unintelligible.

Answer: Well no, I said about, I said two times.

Question: Two times?

Answer: About two times, yeah.

Question: Shouldn't there be some way we could verify this?

Question: (from another individual in the audience) One form of verification is an individual who works, has the job, unloading returning _____ (unintelligible) to the New York airport, and he told me that, this was back about two years ago or three years ago, that there were times when there were more _____ (unintelligible) coming back to the New York City airport from Vietnam than the entire total of the Vietnam war dead. So that you know, he felt that the statistics that were being given out from Brooklyn were obviously inaccurate.

Answer: I guess the only you could really do it is like if you could computerize every local paper in the country where they like they announce the local guy who has been killed, and sort of add them all up and then compare with the Pentagon statistics, but I don't know anybody who's got the time or the energy to do that. That would probably be the only way I guess you could find out, but even then you might not be able to. On the part of the Vietnamese, they do not say how many people that they've lost. They make, they give no figures on that. Okay.

(The following speech was made by FRED BODE, UNC History Professor, on the subject of Imperialism.)

. . . the Vietnam War, for example, to one degree was another still shared. Certainly it's the view of most of the outstanding critics of U. S. foreign policy, say the United States Senate, Senator, former Senator WAYNE MORRIS for example, is _____ (unintelligible) calling the Vietnam war the result of the EISENHOWER-DULLIS foreign policy. It is clear that EISENHOWER

and DULLIS played considerable roles in our involvement in Vietnam. Senator MORRIS tends to overlook the fact that the EISENHOWER-DULLIS policy was grounded fundamentally on the containment policies that were developed during the TRUMAN administration. I think it is more or less the same view that is held by other articulate opponents of American policy in Vietnam and other parts of the third world. People like Senator FULLBRIGHT, people like Senator MC CARTHY.

I would argue on the other hand, that American policy in Vietnam, American policy in Latin America, American policy in the third world in general is not state, not aberration but are one that in theory and practice of American foreign policy since the Second World War. In addition, American policy since the Second World War, I would further argue, does not represent a considerable break from American tradition in the American cold war foreign policies since the Second World War, is too deeply rooted in the development of American imperialism which began at least as early as the 1890's.

The usual explanation for American policy after the Second World War runs something like this. This is the explanation that is usually given by the so-called realist school of American foreign policy experts. They'll say that before the Second World War the United States lived in a kind of naive isolation. It was preserved and protected from the rest of the world by vast oceans on either side of it. It was uninvolved in European affairs and world affairs, that essentially the United States was an innocent, that it believed itself somehow shielded and protected from the rest of the world. They go on to argue that the Second World War with the rise of Soviet power, American foreign policy somehow became more realistic. We realized that we were no longer isolated from the rest of the world. We realized that we had to play quote unquote a responsible role to the rest of the world, a responsible role in preserving the free world, and preserving world peace and protecting order and stability throughout the world.

Again I would argue that American foreign policy before the cold war was not isolationist, but that many of the crises of American policy since the Second World War were developed long

before. The difference in American post-war foreign policy, however, arises I think from this fact. The United States emerged clearly from the Second World War as the leading capitalist super-power. It was confronted at the same time by an increase in the powerful rival, the Soviet Union. This emergence of the United States as a super-power, as the leading undisputed capitalist power naturally had a profound impact on the practice of American policy, but this practice was in large part guided by premises that had already been developed.

Now, I mentioned American imperialism. What do we mean exactly by imperialism? Now, most people, I suppose, assume that imperialism involves the holding of some kind of formal empire, of colonies, of direct political control over areas and people outside of the metropolitan area of the people involved. This certainly is one of the traditional conceptions of imperialism. On this ground, based on this definition of imperialism, certainly the United States could not be classified as an imperialist power.

But imperialism, I would argue, is something more than the exercise of formal political control. It's something more than the type of imperialism, say, that was represented by the British Empire. Imperialism, it seems to me, implies a policy which attempts to create in other parts of the world a situation that is conducive to the interests, economic, political, and otherwise of the particular power involved. This does not necessarily have to mean direct political control.

Modern imperialism is something that developed toward the end of the last century, beginning about 1870, which involves a scramble for colonies among competing European powers ultimately culminating in the First World War. Now Britain, which acquired most of her formal political empire during this period, had already been an imperialist power before this time. However, before the latter part of the nineteenth century, with some exceptions, Britain practiced a kind of informal imperialism which in many ways is analogous to the kind of imperialism that the United States practices today. Some authorities have called this kind of imperialism Britain practiced in the nineteenth

century, free trade imperialism. Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century, like the United States in the middle of the twentieth century, was the undisputed world power and undisputed leading capitalist power.

The tendency of thought in Britain during the mid-nineteenth century, the tendency that seemed to find most acceptance among British industrialists, among British capitalists, was that colonies were unnecessary. Formal political control was in most cases undesirable. Formal political control involved too many burdens in terms of administration, in terms of defense. But Britain, as the unrivaled world power, as the unrivaled economic giant, did not need colonies. Britain's national interests, Britain's economic interests could best be served through free trade, through informal kinds of control over other parts of the world. To be sure, there were colonial possessions of the British Empire at this time, for example, India. But for the most part, British possessions were confined to small islands, small naval bases in various parts of the world.

The tendency was for colonies that were settled largely by white Anglo-Saxons inhabitants to _____ (unintelligible) of government, something the United States, of course, achieved as the result of revolution, but something that was granted and deemed desirable in the cases of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, South Africa, and so on.

Now, imperialism began to change its character somewhat toward the end of the nineteenth century. The change in character of imperialism I think can be traced in large part to the relative decline of Great Britain as a capitalist power. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, British economic leadership was being challenged by the United States, by Germany, by Japan, and by other countries. These countries to a large degree developed a more defensive kind of policy. Unlike Britain, they established protective tariffs. They didn't establish free trade. Unlike Britain they believed that they had to have protective markets. Britain being challenged by late comers, was to a considerable degree was experiencing a change in its outlook. Britain as it

was being challenged by Germany, Japan, France, other countries, began to recognize the necessity to a certain degree of exercising more formal political control over certain parts of the world in order to maintain British _____ (unintelligible), in order to maintain British power in competition with her new rivals.

The scramble for colonies in Africa, for example, which did not begin until the late nineteenth century, can be interpreted in large part in terms of conquest among competing imperialist powers.

Now the American imperialist road pretended to de-emphasize the need for colonies, for formal territorial possessions. American imperialist theory, as I mentioned before, bore a striking resemblance to British policy in the early, in the mid-nineteenth century. Americans began to think, beginning in the 1880's and the 1890's, about the possibilities of an overseas expansion, perhaps a bit prematurely, as the result of various economic crises, as a result of the filling up of the American continent. It was widely believed in many circles that opportunity for economic expansion was decreasing in the United States itself, and again I would argue that this was probably a premature judgment at this time, but nevertheless people were beginning seriously to think about the necessity or the desirability of overseas expansion.

Now Americans who thought about the problem, people like Alfred J. Mahan (phonetic), the naval strategist, people like Theodore Roosevelt, tended to agree that formal territorial expansion beyond the North American continent was undesirable and unnecessary. The theory of expansion that they developed was one which would eventually envisage a stable world system of theoretically equal independence and competing states open to trade and open to investment. Their ideas reflected strong optimism about the competitive position of American capitalists. Many Americans during this period thought about problems of overseas expansion, were confident that in many cases American capital would be able to compete successfully on equal terms with capital of other countries.

Already, however, at this time American policy makers were beginning to regard Latin America, at least, as a kind of

special case. While there was never any serious consideration about acquiring formal territorial possessions in Latin America to any significant extent, nonetheless Americans tended to regard, American policy makers, tended to regard Latin America as a kind of special American preserve in which other powers would have to follow the American lead. Now mind you, this was already at a time when the United States in relation, say, to Great Britain, had an almost _____ (unintelligible) economic interest in Latin America at a time when American trade, for example, was much less than British trade with Latin America. There was a sense, however, on the part of American policy makers that unless the United States did something, that Latin America would be closed to American economic expansion.

In 1895, for example, the democratic Secretary of State, RICHARD OLNEY (phonetic), stated "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and to _____ (unintelligible) law open the subjects to which it confines it into position. Why? It is not because of the pure friendship or good will felt for it. It is because in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable against any or all powers.

This kind exclusivistic thinking was not typical of American policy, however, in most other parts of the world. WOODROW WILSON, for example, probably became closer than any other American President in this period to defining the kinds of world situation which was deemed desirable in terms of American interests. One historian of Wilsonian foreign policy has termed WILSON's views liberal capitalist internationalist.

WILSON, it seems, envisaged the world in a kind of _____ (unintelligible) state of nature, in which there were a lot of competing countries without any sense of order in the system as a whole. WOODROW WILSON believed, in line with classical liberal thinking, that orderly competition was desirable, that orderly competition would somehow lead to the benefit of all, but particularly the United States. Of course, it was quite clear in WILSON's mind that the United States and

other large industrialized powers competing in the world, particularly in the underdeveloped world, would obviously be in a much stronger position than weaker states. WILSON strongly reacted to any kind of closed system in the world.

He opposed on one hand traditional imperialism, that is colonialism. He believed, for example, that Germany represented old fashioned, what he calls exclusivistic (phonetic) imperialism, in its most dangerous form. On the other hand, WILSON also opposed threats to an open world system from the left, the Russian Revolution, you may recall, occurred in 1917 during WOODROW WILSON's administration, during the First World War, and it became very quickly apparent to WILSON that the Russian Revolution seemed to pose the same kind of threat to his open world system, competing liberal capitalist states, that the traditional imperialism of European powers and particularly in WILSON's mind, Germany, seemed to pose.

WILSON's conception of a League of Nations cannot be isolated from WILSON's conception of liberal capitalist internationalism. The League of Nations in WILSON's view was supposed to rescue the world from the kind of state of nature that it was operating in and kind of compose a nice liberal lock-in system where everyone could compete with each other under the umbrella of law and order and with the assurance of world stability. The League of Nations, in WILSON's mind, was directed as much against old fashioned exclusivistic colonialist imperialism as it was against the kind of threat to capitalist expansion that WILSON saw in the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917.

Now WILSON's plan for a League of Nations was also somewhat premature. For a variety of reasons the League of Nations failed. For a variety of reasons the kind of world system that WILSON envisaged was not established.

It was not until the Second World War that this kind of system ultimately was imposed on much of the world by United States policy. As I've already mentioned, following the Second World War, American _____ (unintelligible) among capitalist nations were sure. At the same time the United States and world capitalism were confronting the increased power of the Soviet Union and the increasing threat of Socialist Revolution.

The United Nations was in large part designed to preserve the kind of world stability that the League of Nations was supposed to preserve, stable regimes friendly to capitalist development. It was clear, however, from the very beginning that the United Nations by itself could not fulfill this considerable role. And in large part, the United States had pursued a policy of achieving stability, of achieving favorable conditions for economic expansion for world capitalism outside the United Nations.

The Marshall Plan, for example, following the Second World War was not conceived in terms of a noble gesture to help our European friends. It was conceived in terms of protecting western European capitalism from the threat of Socialists. It was sold to the American business community with the argument that a healthy capitalist Europe was essential to a healthy capitalist America. The United States also proceeded with a system of alliances.

Shortly after World War II, containment became official American policy. Containment was rationalized in terms of defending free world against aggressive Soviet imperialism. In fact, containment was designed to preserve a world system favorable to the interests and favorable to the prosperity of the United States.

In addition to the system of alliances, the United States has actively supported counter-revolutionary activities where and wherever revolutionary activities toward national liberation, Vietnam, Latin America, elsewhere, have threatened to upset the kind of world system, the kind of world stability that the United States desires.

Law and order is not just a domestic issue, but in terms of American foreign policy plan, it is currently a world issue. As HUBERT HUMPHREY remarked in 1966, "The day that this nation does not honor its commitments in Vietnam and elsewhere, it is on that day that the whole fabric of international law and order is torn apart and breaks down."

I think at this point, I'll stop. I've probably gone on too long already. I had intended to talk a bit about the very close connection between American economic expansion since the

Second World War overseas and American economic expansion has proceeded since the Second World War at a tremendous rate. American overseas investment is proceeding at a much faster rate than American domestic investment, the relationship between this and American foreign policy since the Second World War. I really don't have time, I don't think, to talk further about that. However, I would recommend a book which goes into this question in some detail by HARRY MAGAW (phonetic), which is called "The Age of Imperialism and Economics in U. S. Foreign Policy," which gives a little background material on American imperialism but is primarily concerned as I said with outlining the close inner connection between American economics expansion between the Second World War and American foreign policy. I think at this point I'll turn it over to _____ (unintelligible).

(The following speech was made by LARRY KESSLER, UNC professor, on the topic of Imperialism.)

Something that FRED talked about _____ (unintelligible) imperialism both American and otherwise. My first thought is that as "a rose by any other name would smell just as sweet," so imperialism by any other name stinks just as badly. And yet for most of the century now, Americans have been describing their imperialism abroad, their basic expansionism abroad, it seems to me that that is the character of the American system, they've been describing this in terms, in all sorts of terms other than imperialism.

For instance, we called it manifest destiny. That is somehow we were ordained by God to carry our civilization to the rest of the world, sort of an updated "white man's burden."

We've called it anti-colonialism. This is how many of the political and business leaders of America at the turn of the century justified our expansion into the Philippines. This was used as a sort of stepping stone for China and to save China from being a colony of some of the other western powers. So our imperialism was anti-colonialism.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK

We have called it making the world safe for democracy, a fine phrase. Or keeping, or saving the free world, defending the free world. We have more recently called it anti-Communism. This has justified most of our expansion into Asia in the post-World War II era.

So we've called it by all sorts of names and probably the one, the one _____ (unintelligible) that has been the most persistent in our attempt to hide the facts of our expansionism was the phrase popularized at the turn of the century but actually in currency earlier, as the "open door policy." We were somehow opening all the doors, were keeping all the doors of the world open except in our own back yard, of course, where we had the Monroe Doctrine, which closed all the doors of the people. But in other parts of the world where we couldn't because of our military posture there, we couldn't carve out for ourselves a particular sphere of influence like some of the other western nations. Then we were urging upon these nations the open door policy, which was a fairly successful policy considering it was based on policies, the position that we had militarily in that area. And this, this particular phrase, the open door, amazingly persists.

RE: COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

Attached as appendices to this memorandum are characterizations of the Black Panther Party, Students For a Democratic Society, Young Socialist Alliance, and Southern Student Organizing Committee.

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense**

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of open and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which reads in the following:

"Black men! Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

A source has advised that the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. From an initial ideological posture of "participatory democracy," the current line of the national leadership reveals an adherence to Marxism-Leninism. Michael Klosky, National Secretary, in March, 1969, called for the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist movement. The program of SDS has moved from involvement in civil rights struggles to an anti-Vietnam war position and finally to its present advocacy of an anti-imperialist line, linking up the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the black liberation movement in the United States. China, Vietnam and Cuba are regarded as countries which are leading the world-wide struggles against United States imperialism. On the other hand, SDS regards the Soviet Union as an imperialist power and does not support the policies of that country.

SDS maintains a National Office in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Its official paper "New Left Notes" shows the line of the national leadership and program adopted at meetings of the National Council and National Interim Committee (NIC). Three national officers and a NIC of eleven members are elected each year during a June National Convention.

SDS Regional Offices and university and college chapters elect delegates to National Council meetings wherein program and ideology are debated, but each Region and chapter is autonomous in nature and is free to carry out independent policy and programs reflective of local conditions.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

A source advised on May 15, 1969, that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) maintains its national headquarters at 41 Union Square West, New York, New York, and has as its official publication the "Young Socialist." The YSA is the youth organization of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and has been described by the SWP as the main recruiting ground for the SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA CHAPTER

The "Daily Tar Heel," student newspaper published at the University of North Carolina (UNC), Chapel Hill, North Carolina, on November 7, 1968, published an article stating that the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) would hold its first organizational meeting on November 7, 1968, at the University of North Carolina.

On February 20, 1969, a source advised the Young Socialist Alliance National Executive Committee meeting on February 4, 1969, at New York City, approved the creation of a local Young Socialist Alliance at Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (SSOC)

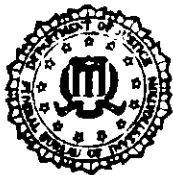
On November 1, 1966, a first source advised that the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) was formed on the weekend of April 3-5, 1964, to stimulate activity of Southern Student groups in areas of civil rights, peace, academic freedom, civil liberties, capital punishment, and unemployment. Originally, it was to be a white counterpart of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). It has agreed to work with similar interested groups such as SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF). SSOC is a fraternal affiliate of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Beginning in the Fall of 1966, SSOC became a membership organization and embarked on a campaign to form local chapters on various college campuses throughout the South. SSOC publishes, October through May each year, a publication, "New South Student," which according to the above source has increasingly espoused and defended the pro-Communist and anti-United States position on domestic and foreign policy.

On July 2, 1968, a second source advised that SSOC continues to be headquartered at 1703 Portland Avenue, Nashville, Tennessee, and continues to defend and espouse the pro-Communist and anti-United States position with particular emphasis on attacking United States policy in Vietnam and emphasis on attacking the Selective Service System. Source Two noted that SSOC Chairman Thomas H. Gardner in the Summer of 1967 traveled to Prague, Czechoslovakia, where he met with representatives of the National Liberation Front (NLF) and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), and that SSOC staff members Bruce Smith and Alan Levin traveled to Cuba in the Summer of 1967 and February, 1968, respectively.

By letter dated April 26, 1968, on SSOC letterhead mailed to the general SSOC membership over the signature of Mike Welch, Executive Secretary of SSOC, it was announced that as a step toward close relations with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and better communications with the "New South Student" and the "New Left Notes", and that SDS and SSOC were exchanging contact lists of their respective memberships for this exchange.

The May, 1968, issue of "New South Student" indicates that the SSOC mailing address is P. O. Box 6403, Nashville, Tennessee, 37212, Telephone Number 615-291-3537, and the mast-head described the organization as "An association of young concerned Southerners dedicated to social change," as taken from the preamble of the SSOC constitution.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
November 3, 1969

Title COUNTERORIENTATION WEEK, UNIVERSITY
OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL,
NORTH CAROLINA

Character RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENTS FOR A
DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

Reference Memorandum made at Charlotte, North
Carolina, dated and captioned as
above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable
information in the past.

F B I

Date: 11/18/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Via _____

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

██████████ (SF T-16), a highly confidential source advised as follows on 11/17/69.

100-8-75
An individual named ██████████ from Charlotte, North Carolina, where he had telephone numbers 704-██████████ and 704-██████████ contacted BPP Headquarters on that date. ██████████ stated that his father was "the all American Negro" and had objected to his receiving copies of "The Black Panther" newspaper to distribute. ██████████ therefore told Headquarters that he had to cancel the newspaper orders.

██████████ then went on to relate that an individual named RHODA SAWALA (phonetic) had been killed the past week during a street brawl. ██████████ called RHODA, an Agent Provocateur. ██████████ said that the "Pigs" were printing it up in the newspaper as if the BPP had been responsible for the killing. SAWALA was also according to ██████████ "supposed to be one of those so-called Panthers". ██████████ also said that the person who had been responsible for this act had turned himself in to the Police.

REC-23

105-165706-8-109

- ② Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8) (RM)
3 - Charlotte (157-6171)
2 - San Francisco (157-2861)
(1 - 157-1581)
(PUBLICATIONS)

WAC:ajz
(7)

4 NOV 20 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

58 DEC 1 1969

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

LF 157-2861
WAC:ajz

The above material is furnished to the
Charlotte Office to indicate the activity as expressed
by [REDACTED] by persons sympathetic to the BPP.

FBI

Date: 11/10/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)by AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6171) (P)
 SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
 RM

Re Charlotte teletype to Bureau dated 11/10/69,
 captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 2 xerox copies each of
 the following items mentioned in referenced teletype:

1. Complaint and Motion for Temporary Restraining Order and Motion for Preliminary Injunction, Petition for appointment of next of friend, and Summons in case entitled, "BEN CHAVIS, et al, Plaintiffs, VS J. C. GOODMAN, JR., et al, Defendants, filed 6/6/69.
2. Answer to the complaint and Motion for Temporary Restraining Order.
3. Motion for Permission to Serve Supplemental Pleading.
4. Answer to Supplemental Complaint.
5. Interrogatories to Parties filed 9/26/69, WDNC, Charlotte, N. C.
6. Answers to Interrogatories
7. Deposition of SA L. DEAN PAARMANN dated 11/10/69, denying participation in an incident involving 2 plaintiffs and 2 other defendants.
8. Deposition of SA L. DEAN PAARMANN dated 11/10/69, denying participation in incident alleged to have occurred on 7/14/69.

REC-73

105-165706-8-108

ST-118

10 NOV 12 1969

(2-Bureau (Encs. 16)
 2-Charlotte

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: _____
 LDP:cbw (JSD)
 (4) _____
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via _____
(Priority)

CE 157-6171

It is noted that the Charlotte file does not reflect the fact that the Bureau had already been afforded copies of the original civil suit filed 6/6/69, even though the Bureau has been made aware of the existence of this suit.

Charlotte will follow closely the proceedings in this matter with the USA's Office in Charlotte and will keep the Bureau advised.

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

FBI

Date: 11/13/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL (REGISTERED)
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 8)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source, advised as follows on 11/10/69:

[REDACTED] from Raleigh, N.C., contacted BPP National Headquarters, at Berkeley, Calif., on this date. [REDACTED] said that he had dropped out of Shaw College because he found that he could do more work outside of school than in it.

[REDACTED] said he wanted to start a chapter of the BPP in Raleigh and would like some information.

Party Headquarters [REDACTED] said that the Panthers were not starting any new chapters at this time but were forming groups that functioned along with the Panthers under the title of the United Front Against Fascism.

[REDACTED] at the time of the conversation, mentioned that she was one of the [REDACTED] " who was now working at the West Coast Headquarters.

- ② - Bureau
- 4 - Charlotte (157-6171)
- 4 - San Francisco
 - (1 - 157-2872) (ORGANIZATION)
 - (1 - 157-4294) (NCCF)

WAC/pae

(10)

REC 45

105-165706-8-107

NOV 14 1969

DEC 1 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

RACIAL INT. SECT.

SF 157-2861
WAC/pae

Toward the end of the conversation [REDACTED] said that LARRY LITTLE was working around Headquarters at this time having come out from Winston-Salem, N.C. She suggested that the two get together at sometime in the future.

The above material is furnished to the Charlotte Office to indicate the continued activity on behalf of the BPP in that area.

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

 1 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- ☒ Deleted under exemption(s) (b)(1); (b)(2); (b)(7)(D) with no segregable material available for release to you.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- ☐ Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- ☐ Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) _____, was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

 Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); _____ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

 Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):

☐ For your information: _____

☒ The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:

105-165706-8-106

XXXXXX
XXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
X DELETED PAGE(S) X
X NO DUPLICATION FEE X
X FOR THIS PAGE X
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

Domestic Intelligence Division

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11/10/69

SA Paarmann of the Charlotte Office has been named as a codefendant in a civil complaint in Charlotte filed by the attorney for several individuals affiliated with the Black Panther Party in connection with their arrests and search of residence of one. SA Paarmann played no role in this matter. We have previously brought this to the attention of the Department.

We concur with the proposed action by Charlotte in filing of an interrogatory and upon receipt of copies of this interrogatory will furnish same to the Department.

TDR:bjr

See [unclear] b
✓
OPS

105-165706-8-104

FBI WASH DC

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
FBI

NOV 10 1969

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Bishop ✓
Mr. Casper ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. Conrad ✓
Mr. Felt ✓
Mr. Gale ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Sullivan ✓
Mr. Tavel ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Miss Holmes ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

FBI CHARLT

1220PM URGENT 11-10-69 DRA

TO: DIRECTOR 105-165706

FROM: CHARLOTTE 157-6171 4P

BLACK PANTHER PARTY. -RM. *RECEIVED*

RE CHARLOTTE AIRTELS TO BUREAU MAY TWENTY-NINE AND
AUGUST FIVE, SIXTY-NINE.

ON MAY TWENTY-EIGHT, SIXTY-NINE, LOCAL CHARLOTTE ACLU
ATTORNEY GEORGE S. DALY CONTACTED THE CHARLOTTE OFFICE STATING
HE REPRESENTED MICHAEL GRANT LANEY AND JAMES COVINGTON WHO
WERE RECENTLY ARRESTED AT THEIR RESIDENCE, THREE ONE SIX SOUTH
TURNER ST., CHARLOTTE, N. C. AS A RESULT OF INTERVIEWING HIS
CLIENTS, DALY STATED HE WAS LODGING A COMPLAINT CONCERNING
ILLEGAL SEARCH OF THE RESIDENCE BY THE FBI AND THE FBI'S
CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE OF THIS RESIDENCE. DURING THIS
TELEPHONE CALL, DALY WAS ADVISED THAT THOSE ARRESTS WERE NOT
MADE BY FBI AGENTS BUT BY AGENTS OF ALCOHOL, TOBACCO AND
FIREARMS SECTION OF THE TREASURY DEPT., ALONG WITH LOCAL
POLICE. DALY WOULD NOT ACKNOWLEDGE THIS FACT AS AN ANSWER
AND ADVISED HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY HIS CLIENTS THAT FBI AGENT
END PAGE ONE

REPROX

NOV 1969

NOV 14 1969

PAGE TWO

DEAN PAARMANN HAD BEEN A MEMBER OF THE RAID, ALONG WITH FORTY OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS. DALY ADDED THAT WITHIN THE NEAR FUTURE, IT WAS HIS INTENTION TO GO INTO USDC AT CHARLOTTE AND OBTAIN A TEMPORARY RESTRAINING ORDER AGAINST LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS FROM HARASSING HIS CLIENTS.

REFERENCED AIRTEL DATED MAY TWENTY-NINE, SIXTY-NINE, ATTACHED AN AFFIDAVIT OF SA L. DEAN PAARMANN CONCERNING THE ALLEGATIONS MADE BY DALY. THE ARRESTS OF COVINGTON AND LANEY WERE MADE AT APPROXIMATELY FIVE P.M. ON MAY TWENTY-SEVEN, SIXTY-NINE.

ON JUNE SIX, SIXTY-NINE, ATTORNEY GEORGE S. DALY FILED A SUIT IN USDC, CHARLOTTE, N. C., ON BEHALF OF SEVENTEEN INDIVIDUALS AGAINST J. C. GOODMAN, JR., CHIEF OF CHARLOTTE, N. C., PD; L. A. KELLY, JR., CHIEF OF MECKLENBURG COUNTY, N. C., PD; TOGETHER WITH VARIOUS OFFICERS UNDER THEIR COMMAND; A SPECIAL AGENT OF THE NCSBI, A SPECIAL AGENT OF THE ALCOHOL TOBACCO AND FIREARMS DIVISION OF THE U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT, AND DEAN PAARMANN, SA OF THE FBI, IN USDC, WHEREIN THE PLAINTIFFS ALLEGE SEVERAL ACTS OF ILLEGAL SEARCH DURING EFFORTS TO LOCATE A LOCAL INDIVIDUAL WANTED ON ARMED

END PAGE TWO

CE 157-6171

PAGE THREE

ROBBERY CHARGES BY THE CHARLOTTE PD.

ON SEPTEMBER TWENTY-SIX, SIXTY-NINE, ATTORNEY DALY FILED IN USDC, CHARLOTTE, N. C., AN INTERROGATORY REQUESTING THAT NINETY-EIGHT QUESTIONS BE ANSWERED. SA L. DEAN PAARMANN IS REQUESTED TO ANSWER STATEMENTS CONCERNING HIS EMPLOYMENT WITH THE FBI AND OTHER PERSONAL QUESTIONS SUCH AS HOME ADDRESS, INSURANCE POLICIES, AND EDUCATION.

DUE TO INADVERTENCY BY USA'S OFFICE, ASHEVILLE, N. C.,
OBJECTION BY GOVERNMENT WAS NOT FILED AND USA, ~~ASHEVILLE~~,
N. C., ADVISED THAT THESE INTERROGATORIES MUST BE FILED
NOVEMBER TEN, SIXTY-NINE.

IN ADDITION, USA REQUESTED ADDITIONAL AFFIDAVITS BY SA L. DEAN PAARMANN ADVISING PAARMANN TOOK NO PART IN ACTIVITY MENTIONED IN ORIGINAL SUIT ON MAY TWENTY-FOUR, SIXTY-NINE AND IN SUPPLEMENTAL COMPLAINT CONCERNING ALLEGATIONS ON JULY FOURTEEN, SIXTY-NINE.

ANSWERS TO INTERROGATORIES ARE BEING MADE WITH ASSISTANCE OF USA'S OFFICE. ALL OTHER INQUIRIES ARE BEING POINTED OUT AS NOT APPLICABLE OR ARE MATTERS WHICH CANNOT BE

END PAGE THREE

CE 157-G171

PAGE FOUR

INQUIRED INTO. THESE WILL BE FURNISHED TO USA'S OFFICE TODAY
UACB IN THAT NO EMBARRASSMENT TO THE BUREAU NOR PROBLEMS CAN
BE FORESEEN IN ANSWERING THE INTERROGATORIES CONCERNING
IDENTITY ONLY. SA PAARMANN IS ALSO DENYING ANY PARTICIPATION
IN THE ARRESTS.

COPIES WILL BE FURNISHED BUREAU UNDER SEPARATE COVER.

END.

WJM

FBI WASH DC

CC MR. SULLIVAN

F B I

Date: 11/6/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, advised as follows on November 4, 1969.

[REDACTED] (LNU) of the [REDACTED] contacted BPP National Headquarters, Berkeley, California, from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, telephone number [REDACTED], speaking with [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised [REDACTED] he is doing a story on the local BPP (Winston-Salem) and inquired about their relationship to the National Party. He also inquired about one [REDACTED] and his party affiliations. He was informed by [REDACTED] that [REDACTED] used to be a Field Lieutenant, but had been expelled from the party. [REDACTED] further informed the caller that the Winston-Salem people were members of the National Committee to Combat Fascism, which was formed out of the United Front Against Fascism, and they are not registered members of the BPP, but do act as an organizing arm of the party. [REDACTED] wanted to know if any party officer ever came to Winston-Salem, North Carolina to check on what is being done by the people there and [REDACTED] stated he would rather not answer that question.

- 2 - Bureau
2 - Charlotte
 (1 - 157-6171) (BPP CHARLOTTE)
 (1 - [REDACTED])
2 - Chicago
 (1 - 157-1291) (BPP CHICAGO)
 (1 - [REDACTED])
2 - Columbia
 (1 - 157-BPP COLUMBIA)

REC-78

105-165706-8-105

11 NOV 8 1969

(CONT. PAGE 2)

Approved: _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

51 NOV 20 1969

RALPH W. [REDACTED]

SF 157-2861
JAC:ajz

According to source, [REDACTED] also asked about other BPP Chapters in the Carolinas and [REDACTED] advised him that there are none and Winston-Salem is the only Office they relate to. [REDACTED] wanted to know if the Winston-Salem Office had a charter and [REDACTED] told him no and that HUEY P. NEWTON had passed down orders that there are no new chapters being formed.

The above information is furnished to assist Charlotte in coverage of activities of the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and for the information of Columbia in view of [REDACTED] comment that Winston-Salem, North Carolina is the only office in the Carolinas to which the BPP relates.

For the additional information of Charlotte, it would appear that the individual referred to as [REDACTED] is probably identical with [REDACTED] a Field Lieutenant from Chicago, who was in North Carolina in the past. It would appear from [REDACTED] comments that [REDACTED] has now been expelled from the BPP for some reason, although, information received from Chicago as current as October 28, 1969, indicated that LEE was then active in the BPP.

Chicago should advise the Bureau, San Francisco and other interested Offices whether or not [REDACTED] has been expelled from the BPP as indicated by [REDACTED]

-
- 7 - San Francisco
 (1 - 157-2861) (CHARLOTTE DIVISION)
 (1 - 157-4123) (PUBLICITY)
 (1 - 157-3660) (EXPULSION)
 (1 - 157-4294) (NCCF)
 (1 - 157-2872) (ORGANIZATION)
 (1 - 157-1641) (MEMBERSHIP)
 (1 - 157-2958) (BPP COLUMBIA)

JAC:ajz
(15)

FBI

Date: 11/5/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

Via _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706-Sub 8)
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (157-2861) (P)
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY -
CHARLOTTE DIVISION
RM - BPP

[REDACTED] (SF T-22), a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, advised as follows on November 4, 1969.

An unknown woman calling from Winston-Salem, North Carolina contacted the San Francisco Office of the BPP advising that a brother by the name of LARRY LITTLE would be arriving in San Francisco at 7:23 p.m. on Delta Airlines, flight number 21. She advised that he would be wearing a purple leather jacket and carrying a small blue suitcase.

In a subsequent item, this source advised that an individual by the name of [REDACTED] (phonetic) contacted [REDACTED] at the Distribution Office of "The Black Panther" at San Francisco BPP Headquarters, informing her that he cannot even give the papers away in Charlotte, North Carolina. He said he is the only one he knows he can trust and he wants to talk to the brother (believed to be SAM NAPIER, Circulation

- ② - Bureau (105-165706-Sub 8) (RM)
3 - Charlotte
(1 - 157-6171) (BPP CHARLOTTE)
(1 - 157-[REDACTED])
(1 - 157-[REDACTED])
2 - San Francisco
(1 - 157-2861) (BPP CHARLOTTE)
(1 - 157-1581) (PUBLICATIONS)

JAC:ajz
(7)

REG-123

ST-118 105-165706-8-103

17 NOV 7 1969

Approved: _____

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

M

Per _____

5. 105-165706-8-103

SF 157-2861
JAC:ajz

Manager) for some help. [REDACTED] further informed that he found some of the papers he had given away in the sewer pipes the next day. He said that some of the "niggers" here say he is a Communist and the paper is a Communist paper.

[REDACTED] (SF T-16), a highly confidential source whose information should not be disseminated without adequate paraphrasing, advised as follows on November 4, 1969.

[REDACTED] was advised that a LARRY LITTLE from Winston-Salem, North Carolina had arrived in Oakland, California and was now at Headquarters in Berkeley having been brought there by [REDACTED] of San Francisco.

According to source, [REDACTED] stated that he did not ask for LITTLE to come into San Francisco and he wanted to know why he was here, and spoke with [REDACTED] regarding this and was informed by [REDACTED] that LITTLE was here to talk with them about starting a chapter in Winston-Salem, North Carolina. [REDACTED] advised he was too busy with the paper and they would have to put LITTLE up for the night and he would try to talk to him tomorrow.

The above is furnished for the information of Charlotte in coverage of BPP activities in that area. Efforts should be made to fully identify both LARRY LITTLE and [REDACTED]

San Francisco will furnish any additional information received from sources relative to LITTLE'S visit to National Headquarters and the results thereof. It is noted that at the present time BPP officials have continuously indicated that no new BPP Chapters are being organized, but that National Committees to Combat Fascism (NCCF) are being organized at various locations to carry on various activities of the BPP.

F B I

Date: 10/30/69

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE [REDACTED] (e)

SUBJECT: JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, aka. "Duck"
RM-BPP

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of LHM regarding captioned matter, copies of which have been disseminated locally to Military Intelligence agencies and Secret Service.

Contact with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was by SA [REDACTED]

Contact with [REDACTED]
[REDACTED] was by SA [REDACTED]

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING ALL ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS OF AND ASSOCIATES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS THEY ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO PREARRANGE THE LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL FBI AGENTS. DUE TO THEIR PROVEN RECORD OF ATTEMPTS TO KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL BLACK PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES ARE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

2-Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)

1-Charlotte

FJB:gjc

(3)

AGENCY:

AD ATT: IDIU

ALST See Ser. 11/6/69

LOW

BI:

REC-87

105-165706-8-102

17 NOV 5 1969

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: 54 NOV 18 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Charlotte, North Carolina
October 30, 1969

JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS,
ALSO KNOWN AS "DUCK"
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

In June, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, 509 North Poplar Street, was a member of the Black Panther Party in Charlotte, North Carolina.

On June 6, 1969, a complaint and motion for temporary restraining order and motion for preliminary injunction was filed in United States District Court by GEORGE DALEY, Attorney, representing JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS and others against certain Federal, State, and local officers. The suit filed described the plaintiffs as Negroes and residents of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, and a voluntary congregation of individuals who were....actively preparing themselves for membership in the Black Panther Party.

On June 25, 1969, [REDACTED] further advised that JOHNNY DOUGLAS, also known as "Duck," had, according to [REDACTED] attended a political education meeting of the Black Panther Party [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] meeting of the Black Panther Party on [REDACTED] 1969, at same address. At this meeting, one of the members said that in his opinion terrorist tactics should always be used first, and there was a discussion about male members obtaining "Bore" rifles. He continued that at the meeting held on [REDACTED] 1969, that [REDACTED] stated that any guns purchased could easily be traced back to them, and that they should not buy any rifles closer than 50 miles distance. A member discussed a plan where the Black Panther Party would provoke a riot on July 30, 1969, but this plan was voted down.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS
NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND
ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE
YOUR AGENCY.

100-111111-1
ENCLOSURE

RE: JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS

[REDACTED] advised that a public rally of the Afro-American Unity Organization was held in Charlotte, North Carolina, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] on June 25, 1969, identified JOHNNY DOUGLAS as being in attendance at the rally.

On July 16, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that the Black Panther Party in Charlotte had been split into two separate units, and JOHNNY DOUGLAS was identified with the Area Number One group.

[REDACTED] advised in [REDACTED] 1969, that a political education meeting was held [REDACTED] 1969, by the Afro-American Unity Organization, the local Black Panther Party group, and JOHNNY DOUGLAS was in attendance. [REDACTED] advised on [REDACTED] 1969, that at a meeting of the Afro-American Unity Organization, the local Black Panther Party, who were attempting to affiliate with the National Black Panther Party, had nominated JOHNNY DOUGLAS as "Minister of Information and Education" on [REDACTED] 1969, but he was not elected to this office.

On July 22, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that JOHNNY DOUGLAS had been elected "Deputy Minister of Information" for the Area Number One group of the Black Panther Party. He continued that DOUGLAS staffs a day care center organized by the Black Panther Party, who care for neighborhood youngsters in their area.

The Charlotte Observer, a local daily newspaper, under date August 4, 1969, listed JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, age 18, as among a group of Black Panthers who were arrested in a shoot-out. The paper continued that the group was charged after shots were fired at a group of teenagers.

On August 19, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that after another altercation where the Panthers engaged in

RE: JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS

an argument with the operator of a local drive-in restaurant, JOHNNY DOUGLAS, with others, went to the Black Panther Party headquarters where they obtained weapons and black uniforms. They returned to restaurant and engaged in shoot-out with owner and his son. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] a number of shotguns, which the Black Panthers have hidden as part of their arsenal of weapons.

On September 8, 1969, [REDACTED] advised that as of [REDACTED] 1969, JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS was listed as Area Captain for Area One of the Afro-American Unity Organization, the Potential Black Panther Party, in Charlotte, North Carolina.

On October 3, 1969, Judge CLIFTON JOHNSON, District Court Number One, Charlotte, North Carolina, issued a capias for JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, who did not appear for trial on the charge of "Going Armed to the Terror of the People." Those Panthers who did appear were convicted and sentenced to active jail terms.

On July 1, 1969 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] all advised they could locate no record for JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS.

[REDACTED] advised on October 8, 1969, that the Afro-American Unity Organization, with the arrest and conviction of most of its leaders, had completely disbanded and stated this organization no longer existed.

JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS' location is not known.

Attached as an appendix to this memorandum is a characterization of the Black Panther Party.

RE: JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS

EXTREME CAUTION MUST BE EXERCISED DURING
ALL ENCOUNTERS WITH MEMBERS OF AND
ASSOCIATES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS
THEY ARE REPORTEDLY ATTEMPTING TO PREARRANGE
THE LOCATION OF INTERVIEWS IN ORDER TO KILL
FBI AGENTS. DUE TO THEIR PROVEN RECORD OF
ATTEMPTS TO KILL POLICE OFFICERS, ALL BLACK
PANTHER PARTY MEMBERS AND ASSOCIATES ARE
CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

**BLACK PANTHER PARTY,
Also Known As
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense**

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton was sentenced in 1968 to serve 2 to 15 years after being convicted of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement "We will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature Mao's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
Charlotte, North Carolina
October 30, 1969

Title	JOHNNY LEE DOUGLAS, ALSO KNOWN AS "DUCK"
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	Memorandum at Charlotte, North Carolina, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.